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THE VICTORIAN AGE

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M. M. M. M.

PREFACE

To the first Edition.

THERE are two periods in English History which stand out as really great, for the mark they left upon the thought and progress of the world. In each of the cases a woman's name distinguishes the epoch *viz.*, the Elizabethan age and the Victorian age. The Victorian age, however, came to England as the 'crown and conclusion' of a most desperate struggle for a national existence. The Napoleonic wars left England exhausted and almost bankrupt. During the years that followed there seemed every possibility of an even more civil strife, succeeding to the devastating years of foreign war. Then came the Reform Bill and the reign of the young Queen, and a new era of peace and settlement began. The nation rose to the great destiny that lay before it both at home and beyond the seas. There is no gainsaying the fact that such a period requires a careful study by the students of history.

This humble work has been designed for those students of the Indian Universities who would like to have their ground-work on the Reign of Queen Victoria prepared before going through advanced text-books on the period. I have attempted to present before them a full account of the political events that took place in the reign of the noble Queen, in a clear, concise and systematic form. For their convenience, I have arranged the incidents closely according to the ministries in the reign, and have added a valuable appendix dwelling on the constitution of England as it existed in the reign of the noble Queen.

I shall deem my labours amply rewarded if it can satisfy those for whom it is intended.

CALCUTTA,

July, 1912.

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE

To the Third Edition.

The first two editions of this humble work being exhausted long ago, I am bringing out the present edition at the special request of many students and professors of colleges. Owing to my personal difficulties I could not manage it earlier, for which I beg to be excused by my kind readers. I have thoroughly revised this book and have consulted all the up-to-date available authorities on the period. I have also added a few more useful appendices and a valuable bibliography which will be of much help to the students.

CALCUTTA, }
December, 1926. }

D. N. D.

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OPINIONS.

DR. RAMES CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A., P.R.S., PH. D., *formerly Assistant Professor, University of Calcutta, and at present Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Dacca,* writes :

"I have looked with pleasure Prof. Dutt's "The Victorian Age." The author has given a full account of the political events of the reign of Queen Victoria in a clear, concise and systematic form, and I believe the book will be of great help to B. A. students of the University. The get-up of the book is excellent and the price very moderate.

(2)

BABU NRIPENDRA NATH DUTTA, M.A., *Professor, A. M. College, Mymensing, formerly of Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta, says—*

I have read with pleasure Professor D. N. Dutt's Hand book of the History of England in the Victorian Era. Besides dealing with the Political History of the period, he has added a valuable chapter on English Constitution. The book will undoubtedly be found useful by those for whom it is intended. I wish the author every success.

(3)

BABU NEMAI CHAND SEAL, M.A., *Professor, Murari Chand College, Sylhet, formerly of Bangabasi College, Calcutta, says—*

Your Hand book of the Victorian Age of the English History will be a valuable help to the B. A. students in preparing their course. The book concisely deals with every thing omitting no important details.

(4)

BABU MANI MOHAN SEN, B.L., *Professor, Vidyasagore College, Calcutta, says—*

I have gone through large portions of Professor Dutt's Hand book of the Victorian period of English History. Evidently the author has spared himself no pains in the preparation of the book, and I am sure the book will be

of great help to those for whom it is intended. A special feature of this book is a short sketch of the English Constitution which is given as an appendix.

(5)

BABU PARES CHANDRA SEN, M.A., B.L., *formerly Professor, City College, Calcutta, says—*

I have carefully gone through Professor Dutt's Handbook of the History of England in the Victorian age. The work is admirably done and I safely recommend it to those for whom it is intended.

LITERATURE ON THE VICTORIAN AGE.

I. GENERAL HISTORIES.

1. Cambridge Modern History, Vols. XI-XII.
2. Franck Bright's History of England Vols. I-V.
3. Herbert Paul's History of Modern England,
Vols. I-V.
4. John Marriott's England since Waterloo.
5. Justin McCarthy's History of Our Own Times,
Vols. I-V.
6. Do. Do. Short History of Our Own
Times.
7. Political History of England, Vol. XII.
8. Ramsay Muir's Short History of the British
Commonwealth.
9. Oman's England in the Nineteenth Century.
10. Spencer Walpole's History of England from the
Conclusion of the Great War in 1815,
Vols. X-XI.
11. Spencer Walpole's The History of Twenty-Five
Years, Vols. 4.
12. Stephen Gwynn's History of Ireland.
13. Wibley's Political Portraits, Vols. 2.

II. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORIES :

1. Erskine May's Constitutional History of
England.
2. Lowell's Government of England.
3. Taswell-Langmead's Constitutional History of
England.
4. Todd's Parliamentary Government in the British
Colonies.
5. Sidney Low's Governance of England.

III. SPECIAL TREATISES :

1. Asquith's Some Aspects of the Victorian Age.
2. Benson and Esher's Letters of Queen Victoria.

Growth
of national
wealth

are at last fully worked out. We see, in the reign an enormous increase in the national wealth of England, an unprecedented growth of her manufacturing and mercantile industry, and a marked improvement in the condition of the masses. The period also witnessed a vast increase of scientific knowledge leading to a more efficient mastery over the powers of nature; science in its various forms gradually came to dominate all branches of human activity.

Spread
of scientific
knowledge.

Foreign
policy
largely
extra-
European
or Colonial.

The political history of the period does not correspond to these broader movements. But here also a marked change is noticeable. British foreign policy during this period, though often vacillating and confused, gradually worked out to draw away England from her neighbouring continent to be engaged in the politics of the distant regions of the world. By the end of the nineteenth century, England, gradually disentangled from the continental states-system, transformed herself into an extra-European Power—a colonial and world-wide Empire, interested in the politics of Asia, Africa and the Pacific.

Advance
towards
Democracy
in domestic
politics.

In her domestic politics, too, we notice a similar conclusion of processes which had long been at work. We observe the successful application of the *laissez-faire* system, the principle of non-interference by the state, in trade and legislation. The last traces of feudalism were swept away by the abolition of religious and other disabilities and of all class privileges. Franchises are conferred on the bulk of the adult male population. The process of a transition from status to contract in social life is almost worked out, and the United Kingdom becomes a thorough democracy—a democracy in which there is political equality in spite of social and economic differences; the

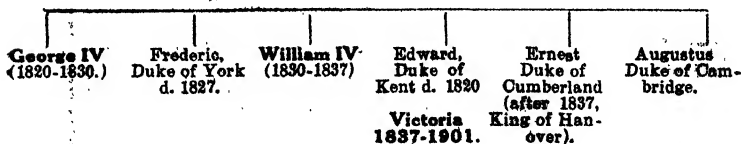
balance of political power is shifted to the middle-class.

The constitutional movement is no less progressing. Now the long cherished ideal of the English political life, the establishment of a limited monarchy in its true sense,—is realised. Constitutional sovereignty had been rejected by George III; Victoria accepted the same, and the cabinet system of government is allowed a free play. 'The crown becomes a checking and regulating, rather than a moving force.'

Indeed, the very greatness of the Victorian era in England consists in this, that the body and soul of the nation advanced together. It was an era of fruit-bearing and maturing growth.

The Queen's Claim to the Throne :

GEORGE III. (1760-1820.)



As King William IV. died childless, the throne devolved on his niece Princess Alexandrina Victoria, a girl of eighteen, the only child of the Duke of Kent, the fourth son of King George III.

An immediate result of the accession of the Queen to the English throne was the severance of the throne of Hanover from that of the United Kingdom, for because of Salic law the Hanoverian crown was not to devolve upon females. Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, the fifth son of George III, became king of Han-

Separation between England and Hanover.

over which henceforth pursued a separate course of history until its absorption in Prussia in 1866.

Position of the Parties in 1837 :

Reshuffling of political parties.

The consistency of the English political parties had long been destroyed. The progressive party had been split up into the Whigs and the Radicals. In the second Melbourne ministry, we see the same difference between the Whigs and the Radicals, as they existed in 1815. But these differences now began to be veiled under the comprehensive title of the "Liberal," party which served at once to contrast them with the "Conservatives" (the appellation of the Tories), and to unite under one standard the ministerialists, the English Radicals, and the Irish followers of O'connell. Placed between the Radicals and the Conservatives, the ministerialists were in a position of continual embarrassment. They tried their best to improve the condition of the country by their reforms, but they could not command the respect and popularity of the nation.

Reconstruction of the Opposition party.

The reconstruction of the opposite party had already begun with the zeal and earnestness of their agents like Peel. They were also torn asunder by diversities of opinion; but having a common enemy in the ministerial party, they sank their differences for a period to be made manifest in no time.

General Election on the accession of the Queen.

The dissolution of the Parliament, which followed the accession of the Queen, soon called for a new election, and in this we notice that though the ministerial party won the day, there was enough to see that the influence of the Whigs was on its wane. The government lost no less than 13 seats in the boroughs. Disraeli and Gladstone received seats in the Parliament, whereas the claims of several prominent Radicals were defeated, the ministerial majority consisting only in 38.

CHAPTER I.

Second Melbourne (Whig) Ministry. (1835-41)

Prime Minister—Melbourne ;
Home Secretary—Russell ;
Foreign Secretary—Palmerston ;
Chancellor of Exchequer—Spring Rice;
then Baring.

The Canadian Crisis :

Discontents and disturbances were raging for a long time in Canada, the most important of the crown colonies, which had become a British possession by cession in the treaty of Paris, (1763). By an Act called the Constitution of 1791, Canada was divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, and a government of English type was given to each of them viz. a Governor with an Executive council appointed by the crown but not always consulted by it, a legislative council nominated by the Governor for life, a House of Assembly elected by the people for four years. Upper Canada, being mostly peopled by the colonists of British descent, desired for reforms in the constitution and good government. Its people, loyal to Great Britain, wanted to make their executive free from the control of the bureaucracy and of the Legislative council which was maintained by a system of nomination. Lower Canada being mainly inhabited by French people, the elective chamber was mostly controlled by them, whereas the Executive, at variance with the elective chamber, had the support of the Legislative assembly consisting of

THE VICTORIAN AGE

British nominees and the minority of the English settlers, for the aim of the French was to separate from Great Britain. Thus Upper Canada demanded that the Executive council should be made responsible to the House of Assembly, whereas Lower Canada required that the Legislative council should be elective instead of being conducted by a system of nomination.

Revolt in
Lower
Canada.

Since 1832, in Lower Canada, the House of Assembly which controlled the revenue declined to vote full supplies. It demanded a truly representative constitution. According to the report of Lord Gosford's commission of enquiry in 1835, the British government at the instance of Lord Russell passed resolutions in 1837, whereby the collection of colonial revenue was placed in the hands of the Governor. The Assembly was dissolved on threatening force. Soon after, insurrections broke out in many places, and French agitators, including Louis Joseph Papineau their leader and the Speaker of the Assembly, and others led an armed revolt which however was easily put down with a strong hand. The disturbance, however, after a while extended to Upper Canada.

Lord
Durham
as High
Commissioner of
Canada.

In 1838, Durham was sent out by the ministry as High Commissioner with strong powers over both Canadas, suspending the constitution of Lower Canada for three years. He had some administrative and diplomatic experience, but little tact and uncertain temper. Soon after his arrival, he began his administration there most despotically, by issuing an ordinance that some leaders of the rebellion would be banished to Bermuda and in case Papineau and others, who had taken their refuge in U. S. A. since the suppression of the rebellion, should return they would meet death as their punishment. This roused a storm of indignation against the ministry at home, which, being

violently attacked in both the Houses was forced to forbid the deportation ordinance. So being incensed, Durham denounced the cabinet and resigned. On his return, he submitted his masterly state-paper on Canadian affairs which shows that he fully grasped them, though he could not combat with the situation. He recommended in his report that the government of the colony should be placed as far as possible into the hands of the colonists themselves with power to execute as well as make the laws, the imperial government retaining its power of interference only in such matters as affect the relations of the colony with the mother country, viz., the constitution and form of government, the regulations of foreign relations and trade, and the disposal of public lands. In brief Lord Durham proposed to unite the Canadas on the basis of a federal union and grant them self-government as regards their internal affairs.

Durham's
report on
Canadian
affairs.

With Durham's departure in 1838, a fresh rebellion broke out in Lower Canada, helped unofficially by U. S. A. John Colborne, the military governor, soon stamped it out and avoided a dispute with Washington's government. The ministry in 1839 decided to adopt a remedial step, by uniting the two Canadas with a joint legislature and a responsible ministry. The succeeding Governor, Lord Sydenham, by his tact and wisdom, was able to make the measure welcomed by the Canadians. At last in July 1840, the famous Canada Bill was passed, which united the two provinces, granted the elective Assembly complete control over the finances, and created a Legislative council of twenty nominated by the crown. The doctrine of ministerial responsibility, the long accepted basis of the English constitutional government, was gradually introduced in practice, though not by the strict terms of the Act, into the Canadian system of

The
Canada
Bill, 1840.

government ; the Canadian ministers became responsible to the Assembly and the discontent was pacified.

Though Lord Durham did not live to see the success of the policy he had recommended for Canada, he left behind him a noble legacy for the instruction of future generations as to the principles of colonial government. It has been truly said, 'he made a country and he marred a career.'

Irish Affairs :

Character
of the
Irish
Question.

Throughout the reign of Victoria, Ireland continued to be a source of trouble in the English domestic politics. While England was rapidly growing prosperous, Ireland was being distracted by poverty and destitution. The centre of the whole mass of Irish sufferings was in the land question. The English statesmen by their well-meant but often ineffectual concessions tried to remedy the growing discontent in the country. The Irishmen thought that nothing but the recognition of their national individuality could improve their lot. Hence Ireland was agitating for the Repeal of the Union, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell since 1830. The opinions of the two great political parties in England on the question of Irish Repeal have been quite different, the Liberal leaders being willing to meet the agitation in Ireland by concessions and conciliations, while the conservatives trying to maintain the full integrity of the Union. Such was the situation in 1838.

Irish Poor
Law, 1838.

As the Whig government of Melbourne required Irish votes in the Commons to keep the ministry in office, concessions to Ireland had become a necessary item in the hasty programme of the Liberals. The session of 1838 began with the Irish Poor Law Bill, which

though very unpopular in Ireland, owing to the violent aversion of the Irish to go to workhouse, was easily passed in both the Houses in England, although it was opposed violently by O'Connell and other Irish leaders. The bill provided that relief was to be confined to the destitutes and was to be afforded only in the workhouses. Ireland was to be divided into Poor Law unions, each union being placed under elected guardians. Thus the principles of English Poor Law of 1834 were applied with a little greater rigidity in the case of Ireland.

The Tithe-war was also raging in Ireland by refusal of the Catholic peasants to pay any longer for the support of the Protestant church, and filled all Ireland with outrages. The Tithe question had long occupied the attention of the parliament and every successive government had tried to solve it but in vain. Both parties were in favour of changing the tithes into a rent charge, as was already done in the case of England, but the Whigs with the Irish support had added an appropriation clause, by which it was proposed that the surplus remaining after providing for established church should be applied locally for the education of children of all denominations, and it was on this clause that the bill of 1836 had been wrecked. This appropriation clause had however to be given up by Russell in 1838 and finally the Irish Tithe Commutation Act was passed converting Tithes into a fixed rent-charge at the rate of 75 p. c. of the original amount, leaving the the surplus for the benefit of the established church. The result was regarded as a triumph of the Opposition. The Whig bill of 1838 was nearly identical with the Conservative bill of 1835, and the question of appropriation which was considered as of essential importance by the Whigs in opposition was surrendered for the sake of peace by the Whigs in office in

Irish Tithe
Bill 1838.

1838. Thus it was plain that the Conservatives were in fact governing the country.

Irish
Municipal
Act, 1838.

The Whigs were still more humiliated over the Municipal Corporations Bill. In 1838, they introduced their bill, by which certain other smaller towns might, if they pleased, be incorporated. Thus far the proposition was accepted by both the parties, but on the franchise qualification the quarrel arose. The ministerial party insisted on a £5 franchise, while the Conservatives demanded that it should be fixed at £10. The bill passed the Commons, but the Lords amended the franchise clause in accordance with the wishes of the Conservatives, and the bill was then dropped. In the following year another attempt was made with the same result. At last, hopeless of success, the government accepted the franchise as modified by the Lords, and the measure, thus modified, was passed in 1840.

The Irish measures of the government thus resulted in an unpopular Poor Law of questionable efficacy, and in an arrangement of the Tithe and a Municipal Corporation Act dictated to them by the Opposition.

Irish
policy of
the
ministry
discussed
in the
Parliament.

The Irish administration of Melbourne ministry bent itself to violent attacks in both the Houses. In order to conciliate the Irish, the Whigs followed a policy of concession and sympathetic treatment. They tried to repress the crimes by the ordinary laws and not by the exercise of coercive method. They applied political remedies to disorders, mainly social and economic, which necessarily proved ineffectual, and both agrarian and political crimes were on the increase. There also existed a wide-spread anti-rent conspiracy. The lenient policy of the government was opposed by the Tory landowners and Protestants. The landlords considered that the administration was

out to rob them of their property being in league with their tenants, and the remark of Thomas Drummond, the Under-Secretary, that "property has its duties as well as its rights," roused considerable indignation. Early in 1839 the government was subjected to a series of violent attacks in both the Houses. The Lords carried a motion against the government for a select committee to enquire into the state of Ireland, and the Whigs were only able to save discomfiture by getting through the Commons a vote of confidence by a narrow majority.

Jamaica Question :

The Negro slaves in the West Indies had been emancipated by the Abolition of Slavery Act in 1833; but to avoid too sudden a dislocation of work, complete freedom had not been at once granted and a temporary system of apprenticeship was adopted. This system was grossly abused by the planters who could not reconcile themselves to the new condition of things. They practised inhuman cruelties on their slave-apprentices who were often starved to death or brutally flogged. As the planters had political power in Jamaica, they could treat in this way with impunity.

The old Anti-slavery sentiment at once revived in English mind, and a great agitation began in England. Brougham and other British philanthropists began to accuse the planters vehemently; crowded meetings were held throughout the country and a national demand arose for the immediate freedom of the apprentices. Melbourne's government passed an "Act of Amendment" accordingly virtually abolishing the apprenticeship (1838).

The Jamaica House of Assembly accepted the Act unwillingly, after recording their protest that it was forced on them against their

Abolition of slavery in Jamaica through a system of apprenticeship.

Agitation in England for final emancipation.

Attitude
of the
Jamaica
Assembly.

own will and interests. Terrorism appeared and the prisons in which many of the slaves were being confined began to be worse managed owing to the wrath of the planters. Melbourne placed the management of the prisons in the Governor's hands. The Assembly considered that its constitutional rights were thereby violated and rebelled passively, refusing to exercise the proper functions of a legislature. The Governor dissolved it, and elected a new Assembly which also did no better.

The
Jamaica
Bill, 1839.

Labouchere, the Colonial Under-Secretary, resolved to suspend the Jamaica constitution for five years, placing the administration in the hands of the Governor and a legislative commission. The bill was vehemently opposed by the conservatives as well as by many Radicals. It was however carried by a narrow majority of five only. (1839).

Ministerial Changes :

Resigna-
tion of
Melbourne.

Melbourne and Russell, thinking that it was impossible to carry on the government, in view of the insufficient support it had received from the parliament in the Jamaica bill, resigned office in May, 1839. The Queen asked Sir Robert Peel to form a government, but he declined it unless she should replace some Whig ladies, who were in high posts in the royal household by some Tory ladies. Peel argued most reasonably the difficulty he would have to encounter in his administration if the Queen was allowed to be surrendered by sisters and wives of his political opponents. For example, he found it would be difficult for him to work out a new policy in Ireland, which would be altogether opposed to that of the Whig as long as the wife of Lord Normanby, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under the Whigs and the sister of Lord Morpeth, the Irish Secretary,

The Bed-
chamber
Question.

would continue to hold offices as ladies of the bed chamber. Peel therefore pressed for the retirement of the ladies holding the higher offices. But the Queen thought that Peel meant to insist, as a matter of principle, upon the removal of all her familiar attendants and household associates, and declined declaring it as 'contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings.' Peel held firm to his view-point, and his chance of forming a ministry therefore came to an end. So Melbourne was recalled and he crept again into office 'behind the petticoats of the ladies-in-waiting,' and did not retire till two years afterwards. Some cabinet changes however took place, with Russell as the Colonial Secretary, Normanby Home Secretary, Francis Baring Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Macaulay Secretary for War.

Queen's attitude to the Bed-chamber question.

While the ministry revived by such a trivial personal question, utterly wanting in the support of the nation, continued its feeble existence, the Opposition headed by Peel was just maturing in strength and vigour to command most successfully the public opinion which it was to guide in no time.

Growing influence of the Opposition under Peel.

Post Office Reform :

Weak though his government was, it however succeeded in carrying out one reform of public utility and of far-reaching consequence in the session of 1839, viz., introduction of uniform Penny Postage system at the suggestion of Rowland Hill—'one of the great events of our modern history.' Up to this time the rates of postage were very high and varied both as to distance and as to the weight and even the size or the shape of a letter, or as it was written on one or more than one sheet of paper. Moreover, members of the Parliament and members of the government enjoyed the privilege of franking letters, that is, they could

Postal system prevailing in England.

Sir
Rowland
Hill's
Penny
Postage
system
introduced,
1839.

send his own or any other person's letters through the post without any charge by merely writing his name on the outside. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Rowland Hill, son of Thomas Wright Hill a teacher of Birmingham, saw through the hardships of the system, and worked out a comprehensive scheme of reform. He published his famous pamphlet on '*Post Office Reform*' in 1837 recommending the adoption of the uniform charge of one penny for each letter under half-an-ounce in weight irrespective of the distance within the United Kingdom and an adhesive stamp and greater frequency of despatch. The scheme, though vehemently opposed by the Post Office authorities on the ground of loss of revenue, was vigourously supported by the public and the commercial communities. Large number of petitions were submitted to the government to give the scheme a fair trial. The government of Melbourne at length determined in 1839 to bring in a bill for the almost immediate introduction of Mr. Hill's scheme, and for the abolition of the franking system except in the case of official letters on Her Majesty's Service. In the budget of 1839 provision was made for a uniform rate of postage which was to be reduced to a penny on January 10, 1840. The system worked so well that it was adopted by all other nations, and has led to the stupendous growth of internal and international communication throughout the countries in the world and has made the name of Hill memorable in every quarter of the globe.

Redraft of the Jamaica Bill :

After the return of the Melbourne ministry to power, subsequent to the disposal of the Bedchamber question, the Jamaica bill was redrafted as the Whigs had declared that they could not retain office unless they were allowed

to deal in a certain way with Jamaica. They therefore introduced a new bill by way of a compromise which after being amended by the Opposition in the House of Lords was allowed to pass. The suspension of the Jamaica constitution could not be effected, but it was decided to give the Jamaica Assembly a respite, to see how it would behave; and as matters calmed down in Jamaica, the trouble settled itself.

Share of the
opposition
in redraft-
ing the
Jamaica
Bill.

The Queen's Marriage :

On January 16, 1840, the Queen, at the opening of the Parliament, announced her intention to marry her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the second son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, a man of high ideals and of varied intellectual interests with whom she fell deeply in love. He was nearly her own age, the Queen being the elder by three months and two or three days. He was singularly handsome, graceful and gifted, and had a sound education. He delighted in music and fine arts, loved farming, and took a deep interest in machinery and in the growth of industrial science. Besides, there was in him a great deal of the political philosopher. The Queen trusted the marriage would be 'conducive to the interests of my people as well as to my domestic happiness'. The reception given by the people to the Prince on his landing in England was cordial and even enthusiastic, and the marriage was celebrated with great *clat* on February 10, 1840.

Queen's
proposal for
marriage.
With Prince
Albert.

A rumour had been afloat that Prince Albert was not a Protestant, and also unfortunately there was an omission of the word 'Protestant' in the declaration of the intended marriage to the Privy Council. In course of the debate on the address in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington bluntly raised

Troubles
due to
omission of
the term
'Protestant'
in the
declaration.

the question and charged the ministry with having purposely left out the word 'Protestant' in order to satisfy their Irish and Catholic supporters, and succeeded in carrying his amendment that the word 'Protestant' be inserted in the congratulatory address to the Queen. It clearly proved the lack of judgment and tact on the part of the ministry in the original omission of the word.

Prince
Albert as
Regent gets
a status in
England.

A few months after the marriage a bill was passed naming Prince Albert as Regent in case of the death of the Queen leaving issue. The passing of the bill gave the Prince a status in the country which he had not had before, and he continued to carry on his duties unswervingly as the husband of the Queen of a constitutional country. He stood clear of party politics, and proved himself to be the most unselfish and industrious of the Queen's counsellors.

Foreign Policy :

Palmerston in
charge of
foreign
affairs
maintained
the principle
of
Canning.

The foreign policy of the ministry achieved a considerable success in the hands of Palmerston who generally managed to get his own way in foreign affairs. He was the inheritor and earnest supporter of the policy of Canning, who had encouraged liberal and constitutional movements as against the designs of the autocratic government of the Eastern and Central empire. In alliance with the French policy, he had supported the Queens of Spain and Portugal for the purpose of establishing in those countries constitutional principles, and thus forming an alliance of western states, freely governed by constitutional monarchs, as a counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the Eastern despots. It was with the same object, or more properly speaking, with the object of restraining the overwinning ambition of the

Czar, that he plunged into the intricacy of the Eastern Question. Peaceful in pretention, theoretically a supporter of the policy of non-intervention, his intermittent activity drove him to intervene frequently in the affairs of either countries and brought England more than once on the verge of civil war ; but the brilliant success which attended most of his plans, and the high position he won for England, secured his pardon for such inconsistency.

Charge of inconsistency against his policy vindicated.

Spanish Affairs :

At the accession of Victoria, the interest of Spanish affairs had almost come to an end. British government had in conjunction with France committed itself to support Isabella, the constitutional queen, as against her uncle Don Carlos, and Palmerston had allowed a British legion to be enlisted for service against the Carlists. But the legion did not render any effective help and was dissolved in 1838. England withdrew from all active interference, but not till an unfortunate coolness sprang up between the French and English governments.

Support given to Isabella as against the Carlists.

The Eastern Question :

The chief factor at this time in the Eastern Question was Egypt. Mehemet Ali, the able Viceroy of Egypt, had been trying to drive his suzerain from Syria, and had even been threatening Constantinople. Sultan Muhammad had appealed to the Czar and had signed a treaty at *Unkiar-Skelessi* in 1833, by which he had undertaken to close the Dardanelles against foreign warships whenever the Czar was at war. Both Egypt and France disliked this arrangement, which practically made Russia the sole defender of the Porte. But while Palmerston thought that the best remedy was to strengthen the power of the Sultan, the French government

Strained relations between Egypt and Turkey, and move of the European Powers.

British policy in Turkey complicating the relations between England and France.

The Treaty of London, 1841.

thought it better to strengthen Mehemet Ali. Palmerston at first tried to bring about a joint reaction by the five great powers—England, France, Russia, Prussia and Austria—for the preservation of the integrity of Turkey. But the European Concert failed to prevent war. Hostilities broke out between Turkey and Egypt in 1839. The Turks were defeated and to make matters worse the Sultan's fleet joined the rebels. Prompt action was necessary, and as France still pressed the claims of Egypt, Palmerston suddenly contracted a *Quadruple Treaty* in 1840 with the other three Powers, thus leaving France isolated. English government then acted vigorously. The British and Austrian squadron bombarded *Beirut* and then captured *Acre*. France left out of the treaty was exasperated and, even made preparation for war. But all these came to nothing and a triumphant close was put to the diplomacy of Palmerston by the *Treaty of London* in 1841, which confined Mehemet Ali to Egypt and compelled the Porte to close Dardanelles and Bosphorus to all ships of war and formally put the Sultan under the general protection of Europe. The admission of France to this treaty served as a means of reconciliation with that country, while Turkey was withdrawn from its dangerous dependence on Russia alone.

Afghan Affairs :

The Kabul war undertaken for driving Russian influence from Afghanistan.

Russian agents had been busy in Afghanistan for several years, and a Persian army was threatening Herat. The authorities in England assured that Persia was a mere puppet in the hands of Russia, and the attack on Herat was the first step of a great movement of Russia towards India. Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, believed Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Afghanistan, to be in league with Russia through Persia, and deter-

mined to depose him and place Sha Shuja, the head of a rival dynasty, on the throne of Kabul. In 1838, a British army invaded Kabul; Dost Muhammad fled from his capital and Sha Shuja was installed on the throne under the protection of a British Indian contingent of 8,000 troops. After making several brilliant efforts to regain his place, Dost Muhammad, at last surrendered to the British envoy in 1840, and was sent to India where a residence and a revenue were assigned to him. (Vide V. Smith's Oxford History of India).

Chartism :

In the earlier part of Victoria's reign the condition of the working-classes and the poor was most unsatisfactory. The introduction of machinery led to the suppression of manual labour, and the displacement of agriculture by manufacture proceeded fast at the time. It was an economic revolution temporarily causing great distress, for though the manufacturers gained much wealth, many thousands of workmen were deprived of employment until they could adapt themselves to the new conditions. The villagers flocked together into towns, which were thus rendered extremely unhealthy. The Reform Act of 1832 had brought into power the middle classes, who did not like to interfere with a system which made them wealthy; any attempt to interfere with the iron-law of competition was also against the *Laissez-faire* doctrine of Benthamite philosophy. Wages were low, owing to the pressure of population, and the prices were very high owing to the protective tariff. England was thus in a transitional state. The working-classes were in extremely bad situation, over one million out of the fifteen millions depending on public relief; again, as according to the new Poor law of 1834 relief was confined to the workhouses only, the

Circumstances leading to Chartist movement.

The Reform Bill of 1832, and the condition of the working classes.

THE VICTORIAN AGE

labourers became much angry and impatient with the existing social and political order. They could not remedy matters by effecting any law, as they were not yet enfranchised. At the opening of the first Parliament in the reign of Victoria, an attempt was made by a Radical member of the House of Commons to push the Reforms farther, but the responsible leaders of the Liberal party like Lord John Russell, declared that it would be a breach of faith towards those who helped them to carry it. Public discontent at last found its expression in the Chartist movement.

Agitation
for the
Charter.

Feergus O'connor, a boisterous Irishman, started the agitation for what was called the 'Peoples' Charter', whereby he sought a political remedy for the prevailing distress of the poor. It demanded six reforms—manhood suffrage, annual parliament, vote by ballot, abolition of property qualification for membership of the Parliament, payment of members of the Parliament, and equal electoral districts,—thereby aiming at giving the working-classes a control over legislation. A conference was held between a few Radical members of the Parliament and some of the leaders of the working men, and the programme of the 'Charter' was agreed upon. Large meetings were held in support of the Charter in 1838 and in 1839, at which sometimes the most violent language was employed against the lawmakers and the constituted authorities. A whole literature of Chartist newspapers, e.g. the 'Northern Star', sprang up to advocate the cause. In 1839 a great convention of Chartists sent a monster petition, signed by some millions of men, to the House of Commons which, however, the House refused to receive. Chartism soon split itself into two general divisions—the Moral Force and the Physical Force Chartism, the latter openly clamouring for an appeal to arms.

Division
among the
Chartists.

Riots followed in many places, e.g., Birmingham, Newport &c. Houses and shops were sacked in Birmingham; and considerable loss of life took place at Newport, where it was 'suppressed' by military forces. Frost, the leader of the rioters with two others were charged with high treason and deported for life. Soon after the progress of the movement was stayed.

Chartist
riots sup-
pressed.

Carlyle wrote 'Chartism' in 1839; and Disraeli has also dealt with the Chartist ideas in his novel 'Sybil' where he has said that 'the country was on the verge of a civil war' during the time.

Fall of the Ministry :

Melbourne had repressed the riots, but the question, 'the condition of the people due to the social and economic changes', could not be ignored, as the distress in the country affected the revenue. It was the mismanagement of the finances which ultimately led to the fall of the ministry.

Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Baring, his successor, found taxes producing much less than expected. Baring, at last in 1841, fearing that the increase of duty on import will not produce the whole of the necessary revenue attempted to increase consumption and thereby revenue, by diminishing duties on imports. [This was a concession for the free traders, viz., Richard Cobden and John Bright, who were agitating for freedom of imports from payment of duties.]

Collapse
of the
Melbourne
ministry
on the
budget of
1841.

Baring proposed to reduce the high differential duties on sugar and timber. At the time foreign sugar paid 63s. per cwt. to enter the country and it was proposed to reduce it to 36s. leaving the duties on colonial sugar unchanged.

Russell further announced that the '*Sliding scale of taxation*'* on corn would be abolished, and a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter substituted.

General
election
and fall of
Melbourne.

On May 7, 1841, the government proposal to reduce the sugar duties was rejected by a majority of 36 votes. Melbourne appealed to the country to support his policy on sugar and corn, but in the general election of 1841 the Tories obtained a majority of 70. Melbourne resigned and Sir Robert Peel formed the government.

* A system of duties in which the duty paid varies with the price of the commodities. Corn-laws were species of sliding-scales, the duty on foreign corn diminishing as the price of home-grown corn rose.

CHAPTER II.

Second Peel (Conservative) Ministry. (1841-46).

Prime minister—Peel ;
Foreign Secretary—Aberdeen ;
Home Secretary—Graham ;
Secretary for War and Colonies—Stanley ;
Chancellor of Exchequer—Goulburn.

Peel's Finance :

His First Free Trade Budget of 1842 :

Generally speaking, Peel's policy was to substitute direct for indirect taxation, and his first achievement during the second ministry was to restore the national finance which had been left in a most unsatisfactory condition by the Melbourne cabinet. His budget of 1842 was the first important step in the direction of Free Trade that had been taken for many years. Peel's measures for dealing with an almost desperate financial situation were :

- (a) renewal of the income-tax, hitherto levied only in war ;
- (b) sweeping changes in the tariff ;
- (c) modification of the corn-law.

As yet a Protectionist, he did not venture upon any radical modification of the Corn-law. He merely altered the sliding-scale of 1828, reducing the amount of duty and adjusting it so as to encourage importation ; to put a stop

Peel's First budget, a step in the direction of Free Trade.

to the recurring deficit and to effect other financial reforms, he re-imposed the income-tax of 7d. in the pound, over all incomes of £150 a year for three years. These and other changes gave him a substantial surplus, and he utilised the surplus by lowering the import duties on 750 articles out of 1200 which were taxed, reasoning that the advantage to the consumer far outweighed the loss of the English manufacturers whose interests were served by protective duties which he removed.

Attitude of his followers.

Peel's followers had even hesitated to support him. He belonged to the Protectionist party, but circumstances were forcing him into the opposite policy. The country was in such a bad state that as more revenue could not be raised by increasing duties, attempt was to be made to do so by reducing them. Graham, the Home Secretary, wrote to Peel, "the next change in the corn-laws must be to an open trade and if our population increase for two or three years at the rate of three millions per annum, you may throw open the ports."

Peel's Second Free Trade Budget of 1845 :

Peel's second budget also conceived in the spirit of Free Trade.

In 1845 Peel brought forward his second Free Trade budget. He reimposed the income-tax for three more years and reduced duties on raw materials and articles of general consumption. This gave him a surplus, and with it he abolished the import duties on 430 articles which pressed heavily on trade, and did away with the export duties. This met with much opposition. Stanley saw much discontent in the House of Lords. He warned Peel that 'our men look sulky.' Disraeli as the leader of the country gentlemen denounced a conservative government as 'an organised hypocrisy,' and declared "Peel had caught the Whigs bathing, and walked away with their clothes."

The Bank Charter Act, 1844 :

The history of commerce in England, during the early part of nineteenth century, had been marked by great alterations of prosperity and distress ; it was due not so much to variations in the real amount of trade as to the over-increase and collapse of credit, as represented by the paper-currency. Peel had in 1819 substituted a convertible for an inconvertible currency. As it never happens, that all holders of notes wish to exchange them for gold at the same time, a greater number of notes can safely be allowed to be issued even when an equal amount of specie is not kept in reserve. But the question is about the limit up to which these notes can be permitted to be issued. If the limit of issue is much greater than the specie kept in hand, when financial crisis or depression in business occurs, the amount of gold withdrawn from the banks may exhaust their reserves and compel them to stop cash payments. Such suspension of cash payments leads to disastrous results for the people.

Reasons
for the
revision
of the
Bank
Charter.

The Bank Charter had been renewed in 1833 and by a clause renewing it, it was open to Parliament to revise or cancel the charter in 1844. An opportunity was thus afforded to Peel for attempting to remove errors in the system of the currency, which had more than once produced disastrous results. In 1840, the House of Commons appointed a committee to enquire into the state of finances of the country. Jones Loyd, afterwards Lord Overstone, gave evidence which made firm impression in Peel's mind as to the insecurity of the currency. The country banks in 1843 went on increasing their issue of notes, and in June 1843 the Bank of England had only £43,44,000 in its coffers. Moreover, the American banks suspended cash payment and 180 of them collapsed altogether.

Appoint-
ment of
a Com-
mittee to
deal with
the
question.

Peel's
mode of
controlling
the banks :

Bank
Charter
Act
passed,
1844.

Peel determined to regulate the 'note-issue' of the country. The primary object of his Act of 1844 was to regulate the issue of notes by the Bank of England and by other banks which, at that time had the 'right of issue.' The 'issue' department of the Bank of England was separated from its 'banking' department, and practically the government began to control the 'issue' department. He allowed the Bank of England to issue £14,000,000 in notes, taking as security the debt due to the bank from the government Exchequer. For every note issued in excess of this amount, it has to retain the corresponding amount of bullion as reserve ($\frac{3}{4}$ of it being gold and $\frac{1}{4}$ silver). The notes of the country-banks were limited to their existing amount of £8,500,000 ; they had to publish weekly accounts, and no newly established banks were to be allowed to issue their own notes. These put matters on a sounder footing. Sir Robert Peel's great act was the last important piece of legislation affecting the Bank of England.

Criticism
of the
measure.

It has been argued that the restriction put on the Bank of England is a less one, because, as a matter of fact, on the several occasions when commercial crisis have arisen e.g. in 1847, 1857, and 1866, the limitation of the power of 'issue' imposed on the bank has been of necessity broken through. The permission had to be actually used in 1857. It has also been urged that there is no necessity for a large reserve, because as soon as gold is wanted in England, that is whenever it rises in price, it is certain to be immediately supplied from foreign countries ; while the difficulties put in the way of obtaining advances from the bank just at the very time when a little relaxation would tide over the difficulty till the gold arrived, have the effect of needlessly intensifying the crisis.

Social Legislations :

In 1840, Lord Ashley, since better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury, had moved for the appointment of a commission to report about the employment of children in mines and collieries. The first report came out in 1842, which in the opinion of Ashley was an "awful document." It showed under what terrible hardships, boys and girls laboured in the mines. All the works which they did were of the most terrible type. Such state of things produced most baneful moral and physical effects. In 1842, Lord Ashley introduced a bill excluding women from mines altogether and forbidding the employment of children under thirteen. It easily passed the Commons, but in the Lords, Ashley was forced to accept a compromise by which boys of ten could be employed three days a week.

Ashby's Bill for the regulation of women and child labour passed, 1842.

In 1843, came a second report of the children's employment commission which proved that in many trades children began to work at even four years of age and that they were frequently apprenticed for long times receiving only food and clothing. In order to grapple with the situation, Graham introduced his Factory Bill, with the object of limiting the working hours for young persons to twelve hours a day with half holidays on Saturdays, and of introducing a general system of education. The education clauses met with fierce opposition from politicians of the Manchester school, and Graham was forced to withdraw the bill. Next year, in 1844, he re-introduced his bill without the educational clauses. Ashley proposed to reduce the number of working hours to ten. Bright opposed, but Macaulay supported Ashley in his desire to push the bill further than the government was willing to go. Eventually Ashley's ten-hours a day motion was

Graham's Factories Act, 1845.

lost by the personal influence of Peel, who remarked at the close of his speech that if the result were unfavourable to his views "he would retire with perfect satisfaction into a private station," and the bill as introduced by Graham became law in its final form in 1845. It is really in 1845 that Disraeli wrote his novel 'Sybil' which made many revelations of horror under the guise of fiction. The ten-hours' principle had to wait for a few years more till the coming of the Whigs into power when in spite of Graham's and Roebuck's opposition, a 10½ hours working-day became a legal principle for young persons in 1850.

The
Lunacy
Acts, 1842,
1845.

Among the minor reforms to the credit of Peel's ministry is the Lunacy Act of 1842. Lord Granville Somerset introduced the measure extending thereby the metropolitan system of inspection of the institutions for the insane to the provinces. Two years later the commissioners published a report which disclosed the most flagrant abuses in these institutions. At the request of the government, Ashley brought in two bills in 1845 for "the regulation of the lunatic asylums" and for "the better care and treatment of the lunatics," which were passed.

Foreign Policy :

General
character
of Peel's
foreign
policy.

The foreign policy of Peel's government was one of peace and conciliation. Palmerston had, by the high tone he assumed in his dealing with foreign powers, more than once brought England on the verge of war during the Melbourne administration ; in particular he had quarrelled with France on the Eastern Question. Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary of Peel, restored friendly relations with France, and the good understanding between the two countries was further strengthened by an exchange of visits between Victoria and Louis Philippe, but

the friendship was not a very deep one and the two countries very nearly came to war over complications in the Society islands in the Pacific. Aberdeen was more successful in settling amicably some boundary disputes with the United States. In 1842, he made a treaty which fixed the boundary between Canada and the state of Maine. A fresh boundary dispute arose in the extreme north-west and the attitude of the Americans threatened war but the question was ultimately settled by a treaty in 1846.

Afghan War (1841-42) :

The surrender of Dost Muhammad at the close of 1840 and his subsequent retirement were followed by various uneasy movements of the tribesmen in Afghanistan and at last by a general insurrection. Sir Alexander Burnes the British envoy, was attacked and murdered in his own house ; Sir William Macnaghten, in his efforts to enter into negotiations with Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad, was entrapped and put to death. Lord Ellenborough who succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General of India, proved incompetent to cope with the situation and decided on a retirement by way of Kabul. Dost Muhammad was released from captivity, and before long was ruler of Kabul once again. (Vide V. Smith's Oxford History of India).

Kabul War ending in a disastrous retreat, 1842.

Opium War (1840-42) :

The Chinese War, or Opium War as it was called, into which the ministry was ignominiously dragged by the activity of the Indian opium merchants, was really fought to compel the Chinese to admit the free entry of opium into their ports, a trade which they were trying to check on grounds of health and morality. Lin in 1837 stopped the importation of opium altogether. After various quarrels on the spot

Origin of the war.

Result of
the Opium
War.

between the English and Chinese sailors' war began in 1840. British troops occupied Chusan where one-fourth of them died of fever. Canton was at the mercy of Eliot next year, but he allowed the place to ransom itself. Sir Hugh Gough and Admiral Parker took Nankin and in 1842 China ceded Hongkong, opened Canton, Shanghai and three other ports and paid four millions of pounds as compensation for war.

Stricter moralists in England condemned England's action, and Ashley proposed a resolution for the suppression of the opium trade, but gave it up when it was shown that India could not bear the loss of one million pounds of her revenue which the trade brought. 18251

Disputes with the U. S. A.

Complica-
tions
with
U. S. A.
averted.

The relations between England and U. S. A. became strained because Mcleod, an English subject, was arrested in New York and was tried, because he had helped to destroy the steamer 'Caroline' during the Canadian rebellion of 1838. Mcleod was however acquitted and the mutual animosity ended.

England was annoyed with the U. S. A., because she would not allow English cruisers to search American vessels off Africa, to see if they were slave-traders.

The north-eastern boundary of the U. S. A. was rectified by the Ashburton-Webster treaty of 1842.

Oregon
dispute
compromised.

According to the agreement of 1827, England and the U. S. A. jointly held the disputed territory of Oregon. The 49th parallel of latitude was made the boundary by Aberdeen's treaty of 1846, except that Vancouver fell wholly to England.

Irish Affairs :

The Repeal Agitation :

In 1843, the agitation for the Repeal of the Act of Union, which had begun under O'Connell an Irish Nationalist Member of the House of Commons in 1829, reached its height. It received its support from the Roman Catholic priesthood to such an extent that the collection made at the chapel-door, called 'Repeal-rent,' amounted in one year to £50,000. O'Connell boldly declared, 'the year 1843 is and shall be the great Repeal-year.' He founded in Dublin a Repeal Association, and addressed meetings numbering hundreds of thousands who came in a sort of military order and with a certain parade of military discipline at Mullingar, Charleville, the 'Sacred Hill of Tara,' and elsewhere. The government at last resolved to interfere. A monstrous Repeal meeting was announced to be held at Clontarf, near Dublin, on October 8, 1843, but the government poured a large body of troops there and forbade the meeting by 'proclamation.' O'Connell gave way, and directed that the orders of the Lord Lieutenant must be obeyed. No attempt was made to hold the meeting. O'Connell was arrested immediately after, tried for sedition and conspiracy, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a heavy fine ; but the judgment was reversed in the Lords and he was released (1844). Coming out of prison, O'Connell found, in spite of popular demonstrations, that his authority had passed away and his young and fiery followers had renounced all faith in him. His health broke down, and he became seized with a profound melancholy. Longing to pass the remainder of his days peacefully he went over to Italy and reached Genoa where he died in 1847. The demand for Repeal once more subsided.

O'Connell
and Irish
Repeal,
1843.

Arrest of
O'Connell
leading to
subsiding
of the
agitation.

Peel's Irish policy :

Arms Act

Maynooth
grant.

Queen's
Colleges.

The Devon
commis-
sion in
Ireland.

The main source of trouble lay in the unsatisfactory relations between the landlords and the tenants. Evictions on the one hand were answered by murder and outrage on the other. To check the latter Peel passed the Arms act in 1843, forbidding the possession of arms except by special license ; and to check the former, he appointed a royal commission under the Earl of Devon to enquire into the grievances of the Irish tenants. Next, in spite of the strong opposition from English Protestants, he increased the annual grant to the Maynooth College in which the Catholics were trained for the priesthood, and also set up three Queen's Colleges to impart unsectarian education to the laity. In 1845, the Devon Commission reported that improvements were usually made by tenants though, except in Ulster, they were liable to be turned out of their holdings without any compensation whatever. The government thereupon introduced a bill in the Lords securing a limited amount of compensation to those tenants who made improvements duly certified of value. The Lords refused to pass it and for many years no further attempt was made to improve the condition of the Irish tenants.

Indian Affairs :

First Sikh War (1845-46) :

The Sikhs
defeated.

During the viceroyalty of Viscount Hardinge, the Indian government became involved in hostilities with the great Sikh confederacy of the Punjab as it sought to extend its influence in the British territory. The Sikhs were defeated in a series of hard-fought battles. (Vide V. Smith's Oxford History of India).

The Victory of Free Trade :

The Anti-Corn Law League :

The Corn Law of 1815 prohibited the importation of foreign grain into England until the price of home-grown corn had reached eighty shillings a quarter. Its object was to benefit the grower of corn first of all ; and that until he had been secured in a handsome profit the consumer at large had no right to any reduction in the cost of food. The grower did not see that if the prosperity of the country in general increased, he too must come to benefit by it. On account of prolonged drought and bad harvests, the Corn Law was suspended in 1826, but was modified again in 1828 on the *sliding-scale* basis, so that according as the price of home-grown corn rose to a certain height, the duty on imported corn sank in proportion. A movement against the Corn Laws began in London and in 1836, an association to repeal the corn laws was formed. It began to circulate tracts, hold meetings and otherwise advance the propaganda. The agitation was soon transferred to Lancashire where great distress existed, and Richard Cobden and John Bright became the leaders of the movement. The corn-law reformers appeared to be undertaking an almost hopeless task. The large majority in Parliament, both Whig and Tory, were connected with the land, and yearly motions for the repeal of the corn-laws were thrown out by large majority, but they persisted in 1838, changed the association for the Anti-corn Law League and with a regular organisation entered Manchester. Tracts and pamphlets poured over the country, lecturers went from town to town and village to village, and an enormous hall was erected at Manchester. Meetings were held in various towns of England, and associations were formed everywhere to

The Corn
Law of 1815
—its object.

Public
agitation
for the
repeal of
Corn-Laws.

Richard
Cobden
and the
Anti-Corn
Law
League.

Agitation
outside the
Parliament.

Attitude of
the M. Pa.

co-operate with the movement with its headquarters at Manchester. The agitation, so successfully carried on by the League outside the Parliament was able to shape the public opinion in favour of the repeal of the Corn-Laws by appealing to reason and argument only. But still the League had its great work to do in the Parliament. Even after the change brought in the constitution of the House of Commons by the Reform Bill of 1832, that House was still composed very largely by representatives of the landed interests in the country, and the entire House of Lords was constituted of the owners of lands. The attitude of a very large majority in the Parliament was therefore arrayed against the movement launched by the League and all the great official leaders were still to be converted to the doctrines of Free Trade. It was not however till 1841 that Cobden entered Parliament, and Bright was not elected a member till 1842.

Struggle over Repeal of the Corn-laws :

Agitation
inside the
Parliament.

Motion of
Villiers.

Cobden and
Bright
enter
Parliament.

During the Melbourne government, Charles Villiers a man of aristocratic family and surroundings, annually brought in motion for the abolition of the Corn-Laws, but he could make very little progress. He found his motion supported by a handful of members but 'his eloquence and argumentative power served the great purpose of drawing the attention of the country to the 'whole question.' At last Cobden entered Parliament in 1841 with the express purpose of carrying on the Free Trade agitation in the House of Commons and he was joined by Bright next year. Between 1841 and 1845 however the progress of the movement inside the Parliament was very slow, except in the production of the famous Free Trade Budgets of 1842 and 1845 of Sir Robert Peel (vide pp. 23-24)

who did not yet see his way to deprive the agricultural interest of the protection which they had been allowed to enjoy so many years.

Matters came to a crisis in 1845 when there was a bad harvest in England and a potato rot in Ireland. And when the potato-crop on which the majority of the Irishmen lived was ruined, the Irish peasants had nothing to fall back upon and famine stared them in the face. Mr. Bright, many years later when eulogising of his dead friend Cobden, described of the situation as 'Famine itself, against which we had warred, joined us.' Confronted with such a disaster, Peel wrote to Graham that 'the best remedy for the famine was to remove any obstacle, to the free flow of corn into Ireland.' He meant thereby to cheapen corn in Ireland by abolishing all duties on them. As a matter of fact, by this time Peel felt, and felt rightly, that to relax the corn-laws was practically to abolish them altogether, and was thus a Free-trader himself, though most of his party-men were Protectionists.

The Potato
famine in
Ireland,
1845.

Peel's
attitude.

Peel has himself informed us in his '*Memoirs*' (part III, p. 105) that his conversion to free-trade took place between 1842 and 1845, when he came to perceive that the people began to consume largely those unimported food-stuffs, on which he had reduced the duties in 1842, and the difficulties in the way of maintaining the corn-laws were being steadily increased by the marvellously organised work of the Anti-Corn Law-Leaguers headed by Cobden and Bright. In October, 1845 Peel struggled hard with his conscience, as he was going to change his views on the subject of 'free-trade' being leader of a party pledged to 'protection.' About his state of mind at the time, wrote Wellington to Croker "I never in my life witnessed such agony." On October 31, he

Peel's
conversion
to Free
Trade
doctrine.

Hesitating attitude of the Cabinet.

avowed honestly his opinions to the cabinet. Though supported by three of his colleagues Graham, Aberdeen, and Sidney Herbert, he found the majority opposed to immediate action in accordance with his views; and at the adjourned meeting of the cabinet on November 6, his proposal to suspend the corn-laws for a limited period, by an Order in Council, and to summon Parliament to sanction that order, was definitely rejected and the final decision of the cabinet was postponed until the next meeting.

Lord John Russell's support of Free Trade.

The unusual brief activity of the cabinet followed by some weeks of inaction, was rightly seized upon by the leader of the Opposition. Lord John Russell, then in Edinburgh, published a famous letter to his constituents in London announcing his own complete conversion to free trade in corn and condemning the government for not coping with a pressing danger (Nov. 22 1845).

Resignation of Peel.

It was therefore clear that the Whig party was ready to support an entire abolition of the Corn-laws. This forced Peel's hands. As Peel himself said, the letter of Sir John Russell 'justified the conclusion that the Whig party was prepared to unite with the Anti-Corn Law League in demanding the total repeal of the Corn Laws, and at the next cabinets held between Nov. 25 to Dec. 5, he adhered to the views he had lately announced; but finding the cabinet still divided, Peel resigned on Dec. 5. Peel has been charged with inconsistency for this action by the irreconcilable section of his party, but Gladstone has remarked that Peel's proposal to the cabinet before the December resignation was by no means a whole-hearted concession to Free Trade but that it involved a considerable element of protection, and that subsequent events led Peel to adopt Free Trade in its entirety.

Charge of inconsistency against him.

The Queen asked Russell to form a government but he failed and Peel therefore resumed his office on the clear understanding that he intended to propose free-trade. Lord Stanley standing aloof from the cabinet, refused to help him and his place was taken by Gladstone.

Recall of Peel, and his decisive step.

In Jan. 1846, the Parliament met. Disraeli on behalf of the Protectionists violently attacked Peel, though their nominal leader was Lord George Bentinck. Disraeli delivered brilliant speeches on this occasion, and from that hour he made his own career, and also made a new career for the Tory party. The whole dispute was really a struggle between the manufacturing and the agricultural interests in the country. Under the corn laws the agricultural interests were artificially kept up at the cost of the rest of the country. Peel therefore proposed—

The Protectionist Revolt headed by Disraeli.

Peel's proposals.

(a) to admit oat, barley and wheat at the merely nominal duty of 1s. per Qr. (after Feb. 1, 1849) ;

(b) to compensate the agricultural interests by various minor concessions in regard to the administration of the country-districts ;

(c) to lessen or abolish duties on other foods ;

(d) protection of manufactured imports still further to be reduced and no raw material were to be taxed.

The proposals of the ministry did not wholly satisfy the professed Free-Traders who did not like the devices and shifts which were to be put into operation during the course of the next three years at the end of which protective duties on grain were to be wholly abolished. Cobden prophesied that 'other nations would sooner or later adopt free-trade, if England did.' Peel would not go so far and he was right. Peel said 'he was prepared to

The Tariff debates.

fight hostile tariffs with free imports.' In the debate one member asked 'how long will the political tie with the colonists continue, if the colonies cease to be connected with the mother country by a commercial bond?'. Lord John Manners advocated that Indian and Colonial corn only should be admitted free. Many remarked that the British agriculture will be ruined. Peel and Graham met the argument by saying that 'cheap food had become a national necessity.' Finally however the Corn Law bill was passed in the Commons on May, 15, 1846 by a majority of 98 votes and was sent up to the Lords who passed it. The triumph of Free Trade was complete.

Peel's Corn Bill passed, 1846.

Effect of Peel's work for Free Trade.

Peel's removal of the protective duties occurred during the period of expanding commerce and rapidly increasing productivity. The great material progress was due to improvements of machinery and mechanical methods, and above all to the extension of the means of communication. But it was Peel who gave England cheap food and cheap raw material and so prepared the way for the commercial and industrial victories which marked her progress during the next fifty years, during which period Great Britain became 'the mart, the entrepôt, the banking centre and the ocean-carrier of the world.'

Fall of Peel Ministry :

Government defeat on Irish Coercion Bill, 1846.

While the Corn bill was being discussed, Disraeli was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the government. Economic distress in Ireland had produced political discontents. Government introduced a Coercion bill to give the Irish authorities additional powers to enable them to keep order. Peel pushed both the Corn bill and Irish Coercion bill at once, and Disraeli hoped to defeat him on the latter and so drive

the cabinet out of office before it could pass the Corn bill. But the Corn bill being passed, Disraeli succeeded in uniting the angry Protectionists with the Whig opposition and the Coercion bill was defeated by 73 votes. Cobden and others voted against the man who had just given England free trade and cheap food. The Ministry fell in its very hour of triumph, and Peel resigned his office on June 29, 1846.

CHAPTER III.

Last (Whig) Ministry of Russell. (1846-52).

Prime minister—Russell.

Foreign Secretary—Palmerston.

Home Secretary—Sir George Grey.

Colonial Secretary—Lord Grey.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Wood.

Irish Measures :

Remedial
measures to
cope with
the Irish
famine of
1846.

Relief
works
opened :

The Irish
Poor Law
Bill passed.

The first concern of the new government was Ireland, where the potato-famine in 1846 was much worse than in 1845, and where death and emigration were disseminating the country. The government passed an Act establishing the relief-works but left the food-supplying to private dealers who made large profits by speculating in Indian corn. The relief proved to be a miserable failure, and it was not till 1847 that the government faced full horror of the problem and established depots for free food all over the land. By these times at least millions had died and the bitterest feelings had been roused in Irish minds at this neglect of the government. The Irish work-houses failed hopelessly to cope with the situation and the government passed the Poor-law bill, establishing outdoor relief in Ireland on the English model, the work-houses being retained as the tests for the able-bodied. It produced excellent results, and the critical year 1847—a year saddened by a recrudescence of famine, fever and a cholera epidemic as well—passed away.

But no Poor-law could more than mitigate the consequences of the famine. Russell was wise enough to see that the real trouble lay in the unsatisfactory legal relations between the landlord and the tenant. Many of the landlords were hopelessly in debt and these impoverished landlords were inclined hopelessly to deal harshly with the tenants. In many cases when a tenant made any improvement, his landlord either increased the rent or ejected him, who not unfrequently revenged himself by the course of outrage or murder. Russell proposed to meet the evil by a double remedy. He, firstly, brought a bill known as the Encumbered Estates' Act for the sale of deeply mortgaged estates to solvent purchasers, in the hope that the new landlords would treat their tenants better. He next proposed that the landlord should be compelled to any compensation for the improvements in the land effected by the tenants themselves; but the measure failed in the Commons. On the other hand the Encumbered Estates bill readily passed, and was followed by a Coercion Act, milder than that of Peel. The Encumbered Estates' Act was a failure, as the new landlords were more exacting than the old easy-going proprietors. So the discontent went on increasing, and in 1848 fresh struggles broke out in Ireland.

Irish
Encumbered
Estates Act
1848.

Some months before the beginning of the year 1848, a new nationalist party had been established in Ireland, called the 'Young Ireland Party,' as a rival association to the 'Repealers' who still believed in the policy of O'Connell and were advocates of "moral force." William Smith O'Brien, a man of considerable influence and large property in Ireland, became the recognised leader of the 'Young Irelanders,' and Thomas Mitchel founded the newspaper 'United Irishman' as the organ of the party of action amongst the 'Young Irelanders' in opposi-

The Young
Ireland
Party and
political
trouble in
Ireland,
1848.

Suspension
of Habeas
Corpus Act
and arrest of
the leaders.

tion to the 'Nation' which had become too mild for the extremists who thought that time was ripe for opening insurrections. The new organ published instructions for making pekes and barricades. The deliberate policy of Mitchel was to rouse the passion of the people in such a way as to compel the government to take steps against outbreaks of rebellion by the arrest of some of the leaders. The government had to hurriedly pass a bill for better security of the crown and government by which all written incitements to insurrection or resistance to law were made punishable with transportation. Mitchel, the editor of the 'United Irishman' was soon arrested under the new act, convicted and transported for fourteen years. But the violence of the Young Ireland newspapers increased, and Smith O'Brien, Meagher and others withdrew into the country and began to hold hill-side meetings where volunteers were enrolled. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by the government, and warrants were issued for the arrest of Smith O'Brien and others. The followers of Smith O'Brien soon came into collision with the police at a place called Ballingarry in Tipperary, but were soon dispersed or killed. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others were caught, tried for treason and transported for life. But a few years later they were given free pardon.

Commercial Crisis :

Monetary
crisis in
England
averted.

In 1847, the commerce of England passed to a dangerous crisis. Failure of the harvest in 1846, and the potato-crop had necessitated a large importation of corn, more than that would be paid for in goods and consequently money-payment had been required. At the same time, railway-enterprise had demanded a great amount of capital and both the corn-trade and making of railways had afforded a wide field of specula-

tion. The demand for money was much greater than the supply. Pressure on the Bank of England for advances was very great although it continually raised its rate of discount. The government authorised the bank-directors to enlarge the amounts of their discounts and advances upon approved security, promising to lay a bill of indemnity before Parliament if the law was infringed with regard to the issue of the paper. The removal of the restraints imposed by the Bank Charter Act was however, in itself, sufficient to restore confidence and the bank refrained from exceeding its powers. The action of government received approval of both the Houses.

Foreign Affairs :

Though head-strong to some extent, Palmerston's Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary was a Foreign vigorous diplomat and thoroughly independent policy. in his opinions. "He acted with the Whigs, though he was never of them." He was one of England's most remarkable foreign ministers. He upheld the weak against the strong and constitutional rule against autocracy. He could not brook control either from his own colleagues in the cabinet or his sovereign. Pursuant of an adventurous policy, his lack of discipline involved him as well as the ministry in trouble, and alienated many foreign countries from England.

Spanish Marriage Affairs :

From 1840 the marriages of Queen Isabella of Spain and her sister the Infanta had become a question of interest to Europe, and specially to England and France. The French plan was that one of the ladies should marry the younger son of their king, Duke of Montpensier, having in view the eventual succession to the Spanish

Arrangements between England and France regarding the marriage of the Spanish Queen.

throne of the children of the couple. In 1845, during Queen Victoria's visit to the king of the French, it was arranged between them that Isabella should marry some member of the Spanish house of Bourbon; and that after the birth of their child, the Duke of Montpensier should be allowed to marry the Infanta. Don Enrique and his elder brother Duke of Cadiz, the two members of the house of Bourbon, stood as the candidates for marriage. Both the ladies disliked Cadiz as he was effeminate, while Don Enrique's candidature was strongly opposed by Christina, the queen-mother, as he had intrigued with the progressist party.

Palmerston's attitude about the question.

Prince Leopold of Saxe-coburg who had close connections with the English court, also wanted to marry Isabella, whose claim was supported by Bulwer, the British ambassador at Madrid. Louis Philippe, the French king, declared that if Leopold's betrothal to either of the ladies became probable or imminent, he would think himself free to break his pledge to Queen Victoria and would at once arrange for the marriage of Montpensier with either of the ladies. With the accession of Palmerston to the Foreign Secretaryship in 1846, Bulwer was ordered by him to press for the marriage of the queen with Don Enrique and to try to arrange immediately for the secret betrothal of Infanta to Leopold; or, if it was found to be impossible, to urge for the marriage of Leopold with Isabella. Palmerston was, however, completely checkmated by Louis Philippe. In Sept. 1846, Count Jarnac, the French ambassador in England announced to him that the double marriage between the Dukes of Cadiz and Montpensier, and the Spanish queen and Infanta respectively had been arranged by Christina and Louis Philippe. The marriages were celebrated simultaneously at Madrid (Oct. 10). Palmerston broke off the '*entente cordiale*'

and Queen Victoria also became very angry at the conduct of Louis Philippe. The perfidious behaviour of Louis gave an immense shock to his reputation in Europe and the Orleanist dynasty in France lost the support of England, its only friend in Europe. England also remained isolated, and when later, Austria taking the opinion of Russia and Prussia, annexed Cracow she could protest only, but could not act.

Alliance between England and France ruffled.

The question in issue was that no son of Louis should marry the queen and Louis had agreed to that. But he became alarmed lest an English candidate might come in. The French became alarmed at Palmerston's support of Leopold's candidature; and the defeat of their Eastern policy by Palmerston still rankled in their minds. So Louis Philippe unscrupulously broke his promise.

The Swiss Sonderbund :

In Switzerland a conservative and reactionary party instigated by the Catholic priests and Jesuits had been very busy since 1830. The federal 'Diet' had passed decrees against the introduction of the Jesuits and the Catholic cantons had attempted to form a Sonderbund or separatist league. The Protestant Cantons however decided to suppress it. France, Austria, and Prussia showed their sympathy with the Sonderbund. Metternich, the Austrian minister, said 'it was the duty of the great powers to intervene as the formation of the Sonderbund had in effect dissolved the confederation and Switzerland was a neutralised state.' Palmerston maintained that a policy of non-intervention should be observed as against Guizot and Metternich. But before any power acted, General Dufour of the Swiss federal government suppressed the Son-

Palmerston's policy of non-intervention in Switzerland.

derbund by force in Nov. 1847, and all pretext for interference was gone.

European Revolutions of 1848 :

Palmerston's attitude of interference everywhere.

Revolutions broke out in France, Austria and Prussia ; while Milan and Venice drove out the Austrian garrison, Sardinia helped Lombardy against Austria. Palmerston acted as if he stood in '*loco parentis*' to half the governments of Europe. He sent in Spain, through Bulwer, a lecture on constitutional government, which led to the expulsion of Bulwer. He supported Lamartine who was the head of the provisional government established in France after the expulsion of Louis Philippe. He advised Austria to give up Lombardy and Venetia because she was not strong enough to rule them. Palmerston's policy on this question was opposed to Queen Victoria's wishes, and after the battle of Novarra, the English court congratulated the Austrian ambassador, but Palmerston refused to speak anything.

Palmerston and the Sicilian affairs.

When a rising took place against the King of Naples, Palmerston authorised the Ordnance office to supply arms to the provisional government of Sicily. Palmerston, compelled by the cabinet, signed a despatch saying that "Her Majesty's government regrets the occurrence" (1849).

Palmerston and the Austrian affairs.

On Palmerston's advice the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew Francis Joseph. When Austria accepted Russian aid in suppressing the revolt of Hungary, Palmerston protested. But when Kossuth and other Hungarian leaders escaped into Turkish territory and Russia and Austria demanded their surrender, Palmerston backed Turkey, in refusing, and even sent a British fleet to Dardanelles. Palmerston remarked that 'the Emperor of Russia would probably long remember what had happened.'

Don Pacifico Incident :

Don Pacifico was a Jew, a native of Gibraltar and consequently a British subject, resident at Athens. In April, 1847, his house was attacked and burnt by an Athenian mob. The corrupt Greek government took no steps to prevent the outrage, and refused to indemnify Don Pacifico. Lord Palmerston demanded instant compensation ; and on the refusal of the Greeks to satisfy this claim and such others formerly raised, a British fleet under Admiral Parker blockaded the coast of Greece and seized some Greek ships. France tried to mediate on an appeal from the Hellenic government made to her, but being rebuffed withdrew her ambassador from London ; and there was for a short time a general alarm all over Europe. After a while an arrangement was effected satisfactory to all parties, and the claims of Don Pacifico were settled by arbitration. While the controversy between the English and French governments was yet unfinished, an attack was made in the House of Lords on the policy of Palmerston and a hostile resolution moved by Lord Stanley against the government was carried. (1850). To counterbalance this stroke of the Lords, Mr. Roebuck, an independent member of the Commons, brought forward in harmony with the government a resolution supporting the foreign policy of the ministry. The Commons debate went on for four nights, and Palmerston by his remarkably brilliant speech, '*civis Romanus sum*,' secured a majority of forty-six for his policy though it had been condemned by Gladstone, Cobden, Sir Robert Peel and others. The ministry came out not only absolved but triumphant, and Palmerston was hailed as the most popular man in the cabinet.

Palmerston's
intervention in
Greece.

The Don
Pacifico
debate,
1850.

Home Affairs :***Chartist Petition Fiasco :***

Demonstration of the
Chartists
ending in
utter
failure,
1848.

The upheaval on the continent in 1848 persuaded the Chartists in England to try once more the effect of presenting a petition to Parliament. Their leader Feargus O'connor, a half-mad and gaseous individual who had been returned from Nottingham, wanted to hold a monster meeting on April 10, 1848 at Kennington Common and to carry to the doors of the House of Commons a monster petition for the Charter in a huge procession marching in military order. Duke of Wellington took charge of preserving the security of the metropolis and enrolled about 170,000 special constables to guard the streets, while regular troops were kept ready cut of sight. Dismayed by these, the Chartist leader gave up the idea of procession. The petition however was presented to the House of Commons but nothing came out of it, as it was discovered by a select committee that many of the signatures were practical jokes. Thus ended finally, and not inappropriately, the movement of Chartism, never to revive again.

Repeal of the Navigation Laws :

Navigation
Act-repealed
1849.

As a natural consequence of the introduction of Free-trade, the Navigation Act was repealed, in spite of the opposition from the Protectionists. It was carried chiefly because it was found that Canada could export goods to England in American ships at cheaper costs than in sending them in English ships, for which she was much discontented. Thus foreign shipping was admitted to compete with the English.

Australian Constitutions Act :

Constitutional liberties were granted to the Australian colonies. New South Wales had

received constitution in 1843; Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia received in 1850. Each of the self-governing colonies received a single chamber of members, (two-thirds of whom were to be elected by the people) which was to be a constitutional assembly. All these colonies adopted the two chamber or bi-cameral system, the Crown reserving the right to disallow the colonial laws.

Australian colonies bestowed with constitutional liberty, 1850.

The Great Exhibition (1851):

The 'Exhibition of the Works of All Nations'—the Great Exhibition as it was universally called was held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park between May 1 and October 15, 1851. The idea was first conceived by Prince Albert as the President of the Society of Arts at its meeting at Buckingham Palace in June 1849 who held that Art and Commerce would enable people to understand each other better and to live in peace and prosperity, and it was at once taken up. Early in 1850 a formal Commission was appointed for the promotion of the object and Prince Albert became its President. In spite of opposition from various sorts of people inside and outside England, the Prince was able to enlist the support of foreign personages, notably of Prince Louis Napoleon, the President of the French Republic. When the Royal Commissioners fixed the site at Hyde Park, a petition was presented by Lord Campbell in the House of Lords against the project, and Lord Brougham vehemently denounced the House for what he considered its servile deference to royalty in the matter of the Exhibition and its site. The objections to the site continued to grow up to a certain time, till public opinion underwent a change and opposition to the site was defeated in the Commons by a large majority. Even

Success of the Great Exhibition due to Prince Albert.

Importance
of the Great
Exhibition.

foreign potentates like the King of Prussia looked with alarm at the project. The Prince however did not despair, and Paxton's palace of glass and iron built on the green turf of Hyde Park grew to be an object of curiosity and wonder as the collections under its crystal roof. All nations sent their industrial productions, and visitors from different countries came in large numbers to witness the exhibition which was described as 'the greatest triumph of peace which the world has ever seen.' The Hyde Park enterprise of course "bequeathed nothing very tangible or distinct to the world," but still it "holds its place—not for what it brought or accomplished, but simply for itself, its surroundings and its house of glass."

Indian Affairs :

Second Sikh War (1848-49) :

Defeat of
the Sikhs,
and annexa-
tion of the
Punjab.

The Second Sikh War began in India with local disturbances at Multan. The Khalsa army engaged the British once again, but was totally annihilated. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India annexed Punjab by a proclamation in 1849, and since then the Sikhs turned to be the most loyal and contended subjects of the British rāj in Asia. (Vide V. Smith's Oxford History of India).

Colonial Affairs :

South
African
situation.

Sir Harry Smith, governor in South Africa by his advance-policy gave Lord Grey much anxiety. Though by the Sand River convention of 1852, the independence of the Boers living beyond the Vaal was recognised under the title of the South African Republic, the internal affairs were kept under rigorous control. Grey recalled Smith after the revival of the Kaffir War.

Dismissal of Palmerston :

In the meantime the Queen was so very angry with Palmerston for his high-handed way of conducting business, that she sent him a letter in which she laid it down as a rule that he would distinctly state in each case what he proposed, in order that the queen might know what she had to sanction, and that he would not subsequently alter or modify despatches after royal approval. Palmerston promised to abide by that arrangement. But on Dec. 2, 1851 Louis Napoleon's *Coup-d'état* took place, and though the cabinet-policy towards this act was neutrality, Palmerston had privately expressed approval to the French ambassador Walewski and repeated the approval in an official despatch to the British ambassador in Paris. The Queen hearing it wrote to Russell if he knew anything about the approval which 'the French government pretend to have received.' Russell replied that he had written to Lord Palmerston 'saying that he presumed that there was no truth in the report.' The reply of Palmerston left no doubt that he had signified his approval of *Coup-d'état*. As a result, Russell forced him to resign office. The removal of Palmerston created an impression all over Europe that 'England was about to withdraw from her former attitude of sympathy with the popular movements of the continent.'

Removal of
Palmerston
from office,
1852.

Death of Peel :

Peel died on July 2, 1850 by a sudden fall from his horse at the age of sixty-three. The character of Peel is a part of the history of his time. He was a typical English statesman with admirable sagacity and practical power. His outward demeanour gave a false idea of his inner nature ; though outwardly cold, he was inwardly sympathetic. He could never

Estimate
of Peel.

The charge
of inconsis-
tency.

descend to those who were beneath him and this excited mutiny among his followers. Goldsmith said that, 'Burke gave up to party what was meant for mankind'; nearly the opposite was true of Peel; instead of sacrificing his policy to party, Peel was ready to sacrifice his party to his policy. He was the leader of the party to maintain Protection, but did away with it when he found it necessary. Hence he has been charged with inconsistency. The very reasons which won Peel the confidence of the nation excited the natural distrust of his own supporters. Accident made him the leader of the Conservative party; conviction made him the greatest reformer of the century. He was 'by nature the most liberal of Conservatives and the most Conservative of the Liberals.' His six chief reforms are divisible into three classes—

Classifica-
tion of his
reforms.

(a) *Domestic*—viz., Reform of Criminal Code in 1823, and Emancipation of Catholics in 1829;

(b) *Financial*—viz., Resumption of the cash payment and reform of the Currency in 1819, and Bank Charter reform in 1829;

(c) *Commercial*—viz., Tariff reform in 1842, and Repeal of the Corn-laws in 1846.

The dis-
tinctive trait
in his
statesman-
ship.

But they all partake of the same characteristic which distinguish the whole of Peel's policy. For the sake of carrying their measures, most ministers resort to compromise; Peel almost alone carried out all his projects in the shape in which he introduced them. Other ministers sacrifice details for the sake of carrying their principles: with Peel the details of each scheme formed an indissoluble part of the harmonious whole. This circumstance undoubtedly testifies to his capacity as a statesman. He had a remarkable hold on the House of Commons which alone enabled him to keep his party together. Disraeli said of him that he

“played upon the House of Commons as upon an old fiddle.” He was the greatest statesman of his own age and he ranks among the foremost statesmen of all ages. He uttered no empty boast when he said, “I shall leave behind a name remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with *abundant* and *untaxed* food, the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice.”

Fall of Russel's Ministry :

The government could not survive the loss of its strongest man, Palmerston. Russell brought in a Militia Bill which was defeated on a motion by Palmerston for the omission of the word ‘local’ from the title of the bill, so as to make the militia generally available as an army-reserve. Russell resigned. “I have my tit-for-tat with John Russell,” wrote Palmerston to his brother, “and I turned him out on Friday last.”

CHAPTER IV.

***First Derby (Protectionist) Ministry. (Feb.—Dec. 1852).**

Prime-minister—Derby.

Home Secretary—Spencer Walpole.

Foreign Secretary—Malmesbury.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Disraeli.

Construction of the Cabinet :

Character
of the
ministry.

Although Palmerston had defeated the government, he was not in a position to take office. Accordingly an undiluted Protectionist Ministry was formed under Stanley, (created Lord Derby), with Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons. Lord Derby took office, not because he wanted it, but because there was no one else who would undertake the task. The new ministers were in a minority and only retained office through the favour of Palmerston ; and hence the government was weak. Lord Palmerston described the Ministry as containing two men of work, viz. Derby and Disraeli, and a number of ciphers ; while others dubbed it jokosely as the 'Who? Who? Ministry.'

* During the period 1852-1859, the cabinets that were formed could last for short terms, as the 'cross-currents introduced by the free-trade question' led to the break-down of the English party-system. The question of party-politics in issue was the future of the Peelites.

Chief Incidents :

Russell's government had fallen on the Militia Bill, and the government of Derby introduced a new Militia Bill by which the militia was made available for service anywhere in Great Britain and could be recruited by voluntary enlistment, the ballot being retained for emergency. Palmerston supported it and the bill was finally passed (July, 1852). The Militia Bill passed.

There was a general election in July, and the government, largely though Protectionist in theory, did not on the strength of the result dare to re-introduce Protection, but confined itself to proposing that the agricultural interest should be compensated for its losses by other means. Palmerston carried a resolution that "the policy ought to be firmly maintained and prudently extended." The government did not resist the resolution and it was carried by 415 votes. General Election and position of the government.

Disraeli's budget which attempted to compensate the land-interest by reducing taxes affecting it, viz. malt-tax, tea-duty &c. was rejected by 19 votes, and the Derby Ministry resigned. "This I know," said Disraeli, "that England does not love coalitions." It was a prophecy of the fate of the government which would succeed the present one viz., the coalition between the Whigs and the Peelites under Aberdeen. Fall of the Ministry on Disraeli's Budget.

CHAPTER V.

Aberdeen's (Coalition) Ministry. (1852-55).

Prime Minister—Aberdeen.

Home Secretary—Palmerston.

Foreign Secretary—Russell.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Gladstone.

War Secretary—Sidney Herbert.

Character of the Ministry :

Coalition
between
Whigs and
Peelites,

Russell the Whig leader was naturally to be the next Premier, but for various reasons this was impossible. Lord Aberdeen formed his ministry from the Whigs and the Peelite Conservatives of whom there were thirty M. P.s only. The cabinet was composed exclusively of men in favour of moderate progress and Free Trade. So far as policy went, the ministry appeared to be fairly of one mind. But it was marked by continued quarrels and misunderstandings between Russell and Aberdeen, Disraeli ably leading the opposition.

Gladstone's First Budget, 1853 :

Further step
towards
Free-trade.

Mr. Gladstone presented his first budget in April, 1853 which was regarded as a masterpiece of financial exposition. It made further stride towards free-trade by abolishing duties on soap and 123 other articles, and reducing those on 133 more including tea. He also desired to reduce the Income-tax gradually with a view to its ultimate abolition, supplying the deficiency

in revenue by a succession-duty on both real and personal properties which formed the chief feature of the budget. His speech on the occasion occupied several hours and no listener wished it to be shorter by a single sentence.

Indian Affairs :

Second Burmese War (1852-53) :

(Vide V. Smith's Oxford History of India).

Foreign Policy :

The Crimean War (*Vide p. 58*) which became imminent weakened the ministry much more, which was never strong and already rent internally as Russell, Palmerston and Newcastle were anxious to carry on the war vigorously while the Prime minister with Gladstone and many of the rest of the cabinet were for peace. In this the popular mind was with Russell's party. Russell further added to the topic of discord in the cabinet by determining on a new Reform bill, and Palmerston resigned for ten days before being persuaded to return by Russell moderating his proposal. Many suppose that Palmerston resigned owing to his dislike of the weak Eastern policy of the government, and not in connection with the proposals for franchise as laid down by Russell. When Palmerston resumed his place in the ministry, the public at large felt certain that the war spirit was now at last to have its way. Russell, however, himself actually resigned in 1854 in connection with his Reform bill, but was induced by the Queen and his own colleagues to return and postpone his reform measure. The government also became involved in a quarrel with the U.S.A. on account of the *Foreign Enlistment Act* passed in Dec. 1854 which authorised the formation of a foreign legion for service in the

war. Recruitments were effected zealously in America to which she took serious objections, and England had to apologise before friendly relations between the two countries were restored.

Gladstone's War Budget, 1854 :

Financial
policy
altered.

Owing to the Crimean war, Gladstone was compelled to give up his policy of reducing taxation and laid down the principle that in times of war supplies must be provided for by raising taxes, and not by loan, as was the principle of Pitt, which 'systematically deceives the people who cannot really know the consequences at once.' The income-tax was doubled and the duties on spirits, sugar and malt were increased.

Resignation of the Ministry :

Roebuck's
motion
carried.

On January 23, 1855, Roebuck moved to appoint a committee to enquire into the way in which the supply department of the army had managed the Crimean war. Russell resigned because he could not find the way to resist the motion. The motion was a vote of censure on the government, and when it was carried Aberdeen resigned. Derby approached Palmerston, Gladstone and Sidney Herbert, offering the leadership of the Commons which Disraeli was willing to surrender, but he could get only the promise of the independent support. Russell was asked next, but he too failed, and finally Palmerston succeeded.

The Crimean War ; (1854-56) :

Its Origin :

The
Eastern
Question.

It arose out of the mere eternal Eastern Question—the question of what to do with the East of Europe. Owing to the decay in the power of the Ottoman Porte, each of the great European

powers became tempted by its strategic position to secure the almost impregnable city of Constantinople ; but they all insisted that it should not be taken possession of by any single one of them. Hence, the real cause of the war was the determination of the western powers not to allow Russia to acquire such an influence at Constantinople as would virtually amount to the destruction of Turkey as an independent power.

Real cause
of the
Crimean
War.

The immediate occasion of dispute between Russia and Turkey was about the guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine, specially the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which had been conceded by treaty with France to the members of the Latin form of Christianity over hundred years ago ; but this guardianship had lately been contested by the members of the Greek Church or the Russian form of Christianity. The Czar of Russia was the Protector of the Greek Church, as the Kings of France had long had the Latin Church under their protection. The claims of the respective churches at length came to be identified with the states which respectively protected them. Louis Napoleon, the Emperor of the French, was desirous of a European war for the consolidation of his throne, and he first began to press Turkey to restore the custody of the Holy places to the Latin priests.

Dispute
between
Russia and
Turkey
over the
Holy Places.

The ambitious Czar Nicholas despised the upstart Louis Napoleon, and being deeply interested in protecting the Slavonic races still under Turkish rule, began to form his designs against Turkey, which he thought England would not oppose. Early in 1853, the Czar wrote of Turkey as a "sick man dying" and proposed to Seymour, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, about the division of the Turkish possessions of which Egypt and Candia should go to England, and the European part should be formed into principalities like Wallachia and

Czar's nego-
tiations
with
England
for parti-
tion of the
'Sick man's'
territories.

Moldavia, and Constantinople was to be held neither by Russia, France, England nor Greece. England refused the Russian project of aggrandisement, as she had no desire to enter into arrangements for the spoliation of a friendly power.

Russian
ultimatum
and ad-
vance, 1853.

Nicholas then sent Prince Mentschikoff as ambassador to Constantinople to demand from the Sultan the settlement of disputes about the Holy places, and the recognition of Russia's right to be the Protector of the Greek Christians in Turkey. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador at Constantinople, negotiated the settlement of the first demand: the door-keeper of the Church of the Nativity must always be a Greek Church Christian and the Greek Christians were to be allowed to worship at first at the sacred tomb. Russia next gave an ultimatum to the Porte to decide about the second demand which was rejected at last. Enraged at this, on July 4, 1853, Russian troops crossed the Pruth into Moldavia to take possession of the Daubian principalities.

The Vienna
Note.

In order to bring about a peaceful settlement of the question, the other European powers, viz. France, England, Austria, and Prussia, jointly presented the Vienna Note, which suggested to Turkey to recognise the Czar's claim to be the Protector of the Greek Christians of Turkey while at the same time declared the absolute independence of the Porte. The Turks rejected the note as 'incompatible with the safety of the Ottoman empire,' and the powers abandoned it. Turkey now threatened to declare war against Russia, unless the question was peacefully settled soon.

Division
in the
English
Cabinet.

As it was, there was no harmony in the British cabinet. Lord Aberdeen believed war to be impossible and was friendly to the Czar. Gladstone disliked war because it would upset

the finance of the government, while Palmerston believed in energetic measures. The result was that the opinions of the ministers were hopelessly divided. No uniform line of policy was adopted and adhered to, before the country realised the gravity of the situation, and war had become inevitable. Aberdeen wrote to Gladstone, "step by step the Turks have drawn us into a position in which we are more or less committed to the Turks."

On October 24, 1853 Turkey ordered Prince Gortchakov to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia and on a refusal the war began between Russia and Turkey. The Turks crossing the Danube defeated some Russian troops, on which the Russian Black Sea fleet sallied forth from Sebastopol, and on November 30, destroyed eleven Turkish vessels of war in an exposed position at Sinope. The British people became incensed at this 'massacre of Sinope'; and thereupon the English and the French fleet entered the Black Sea to 'invite' all Russian vessels to return to Sebastopol. Russia at once declared war on England and France early in 1854, and the war began. England, France and Turkey signed a treaty of alliance and Russell, Palmerston and Newcastle fanned the flame.

Massacre of Sinope and the beginning of the war.

Campaigns in the War :

The English and the French fleets sent to the Baltic and the Pacific against Russia proved ineffectual and were attended with heavy losses. On the Danube in 1854, the Turks could cope successfully without help from their European allies, and on June 22, the Russian general was forced to raise the siege of Silistria. Austria and Prussia had already contracted an offensive and defensive alliance by which they guaranteed each other's possessions in case of attack, and kept their forces in readiness for war; and in

The Baltic expedition, and the campaigns on the Danube : 1854.

June, the Czar was demanded by Austria and Prussia to evacuate the Turkish principalities, which was done within a month, and Austria occupied it under an arrangement with Turkey as a measure of safety.

* Siege
of Sebastopol : 1854.

The immediate object of the war, the salvation of Turkey from Russia, was thus gained ; but the powers decided to curb the power of the Czar who might at any time pick up the quarrel again. The allies decided to strike a blow at Sebastopol, the fortress and arsenal, which stood as a constant menace to Turkey and the only point of material injury to Russia. Lord Raglan the British Commander-in-chief was ordered in June 1854 to besiege *Sebastopol* if that was possible, and he landed near Eupatoria on September 14, with 56,000 men. Three not very decisive battles, *Alma*, *Balaklava* and *Inkerman* were fought near Sebastopol. The magnificent charges of the English Light Brigade took place at Balaklava, but it proved futile against the 'Russian army in position.' The Russian army was however splendidly repulsed at the next engagement at Inkerman—'the severest and the fiercest engagement of the campaign.' The exhausted army of the allies then wintered in Crimea, but owing to bad arrangements made by the government, they could neither get sufficient rations nor good accommodation. Being thus half fed and exposed to pitiless rain and snow after overwork, the British troops suffered terrible hardships and losses by being victims of cholera, dysentery, fever &c. William Howard Russell the celebrated war-correspondent of the 'Times,' exposed the scandal specially about the mismanaged condition of the hospitals at Balaklava and Scutari. As a result public indignation rose high in the English mind and Aberdeen's government was driven out of office, (Wide p. 59) and Palmerston came to the head

Bad commissariat arrangements and sufferings of the English army.

of the administration (Feb. 1855). Sebastopol held out throughout the winter, and the Russians seized and occupied the White Works and Mamelon outposts. On the other hand, the condition of the allied army lying sick in the hospitals was bettered by the timely arrival of Miss Florence Nightingale at Scutari with a batch of nurses who soon acquired control over the hospital management; and early in 1855 the allies were reinforced by 15,000 Piedmontese, sent by the king of Sardinia who had joined with them. On February 16, 1855, the Russians were easily repulsed by the Turks at *Eupatoria*.

Miss
Florence
Nightingale
at Scutari.

Nicholas died on March 2, 1855, by which it was thought that a great obstacle to peace had been removed, and negotiations for peace were set on foot at Vienna under the influence of Austria. Unfortunately however the proceedings at Vienna failed, as Russia did not submit to those limitations which the powers wanted to impose, and the allies were determined to capture Sebastopol. The French, now under the abler command of Pélissier, took the White Works and Mamelon outposts from the Russian hands; but the assault on the main defences at first failed. Finally, after a Russian defeat on the *Tchernaya* and Raglan's death from cholera, the Russians yielded. *Malakoff* was held by the French (Sept. 1855), while the English took *Redan* though they could not keep it long. But as *Malakoff* dominated Sebastopol, it was useless for the Russians to resist any longer. Gortchakov, the Russian commander now abandoned Sebastopol, destroying the ships of war, magazines and every other defences; the Russians had made of Sebastopol another Moscow, and the siege was over. The French then took *Kinburn* and it was contemplated to make it the base of a general advance in land, which, however, was

Death of
the Czar
and Vienna
conference.

the Fall of
Sebastopol.

judiciously postponed for the present according to the wishes of the French commander.

Fall of
Kars.

In Asia Minor, Turkish defences had broken down, and the Russians advanced on Kars. Though their first attack was baffled completely (June, 16, 1855), the Russians under Muraviev successfully blockaded Kars. Colonel Fenwick Williams, an English officer, who held the place gallantly against overwhelming Russian forces, had at last to surrender to famine and cholera, and accepted the terms of capitulation (Nov. 28, 1855). The garrison was allowed to leave the place with honours of war. The war was now virtually over.

Austrian
ultimatum
to Russia.

An ultimatum was now sent (Dec. 16, 1855) by Austria, in consultation with the Emperor of the French, to Russia asking her to make peace on certain terms or else Austria would join her enemies. The Austrian terms were accepted by Czar Alexander II as bases on which negotiations might be carried on.

The Paris Conference, 1856 :

Treaty of
Paris,
1856.

Early in 1856, a Peace Conference met at Paris accordingly, in which England, France, Austria, Prussia, Turkey and Sardinia took part. Clarendon represented England. Louis Napoleon was anxious to make peace on any terms, as the French were sick of war. At last, on March 30, 1856, the treaty of peace was signed on the following terms :—

(1) Mutual restitution by Russia and Turkey of all territories conquered during the war ;

(2) Turkey to be a member of the European concert and to be treated as an independent power ;

(3) Acceptance of the charter forced from the Sultan by Lord Stratford on Feb. 21, 1856, as an indication of his future good treatment towards his Christian subjects ;

(4) Black Sea was to be neutralised ; no ship of war was to pass through the Dardanelles, and no arsenal was to be maintained on its coast ;

(5) Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia to be independently administered under the Sultan's suzerainty and the guarantee of the Powers.

(6) The navigation of the Danube to be controlled by an international commission.

Before the conference rose, the plenipotentiaries agreed to certain rules of maritime International law, known as the 'Declaration of Paris,' by which—

The Declaration of Paris about rules of maritime war.

(a) privateering was abolished ;

(b) the neutral flag was to cover the enemies' merchandise, except contraband ;

(c) neutral goods not liable to be captured on an enemy's ship, except contraband ;

(d) blockades to be binding must be effective ;

The results of the Treaty of Paris were however disappointing. Nothing in the treaty showed which side had won the war and which had lost. 'It is a peace, but not a peace of order.' The treaty was accepted by Lord Derby in England without any show of enthusiasm but the country was glad to have it over. The war at least a blunder, if not a crime.' Lord Aberdeen estimated that it might secure peace in the East of Europe for some twenty five years, and he was almost correct in his expectation. It had cost England some twenty-four thousand men and about £78 millions, and Palmerston's popularity reconciled the country to a somewhat unsatisfactory peace.

Criticism of the Treaty of Paris.

CHAPTER VI.

Palmerston's First (Whig) Ministry. (1855-'58).

Prime Minister—Palmerston.

Home Secretary—Sir G. Grey.

Foreign Secretary—Earl of Clarendon.

Colonial Secretary—Russell.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Cornwall Lewis.

Construction of the Cabinet :

We have noticed already that after the resignation of Aberdeen ministry, Palmerston succeeded in forming a cabinet. His idea was to reconstruct the coalition cabinet, and the first cabinet consisted of nearly the same men as Aberdeen's cabinet including Graham, Gladstone and Sidney Herbert. Roebuck's Committee of enquiry into the management of the Crimean War was however appointed, whereupon the Peelites resigned office and the reconstructed cabinet was constituted as stated above.

Result of Roebuck's Committee of Enquiry :

Changes
in Army
adminis-
tration.

It led to the abolition of the Board of Ordnance and the Secretary-at-War. Henceforth the whole civil administration of the army was placed in the hands of the Secretary for War and the military administration in those of the Commander-in-Chief.

Conclusion of the Crimean War :

The government concluded the Crimean War, as we have seen, in 1856 and gained some credit for it.

Lord Wenslydale Peerage Case :

In 1856, with the object of improving the ancient appellate jurisdiction of the Upper House, an attempt was made by the ministers to make Sir James Parke a life-peer, who had been a Baron of the Court of Exchequer. This was successfully resisted by the Lords, who referred the patent to a committee of privilege, and agreed in accordance with the report of that committee that 'neither the letters-patent, nor the letters-patent with the usual writ of summons thereof, can entitle the grantee to sit and vote in Parliament.' In consequence of this decision the Government created Sir James Parke, Lord Wenslydale in the usual way, a hereditary peer of the realm. "The resolution of the Lords," says Erskine May, "has since been generally accepted as a sound exposition of constitutional law. Where institutions are founded upon ancient usage, it is a safe and wholesome doctrine that they shall not be changed unless by the supreme legislative authority of Parliament."

Government defeat on the constitutional issue of creating life-peers.

Lorcha 'Arrow' debates and Quarrel with China :

The war with China was due to the unwise conduct of Harry Parkes, Consul at Canton, and of Sir John Bowring, the British representative at Hongkong. The Chinese authorities, acting within their rights, had on October 8, 1856 seized in the Canton river the lorcha 'Arrow,' and took off twelve men on a charge of piracy. The owners declared the 'Arrow,' which was a small boat, to be a British vessel, whereas it was really a Chinese pirate vessel which had secured by false pretences a British flag. The Consul at Canton Mr. Parkes, demanded the release of the crew and sent to Sir John Bowring, the English Plenipotentiary at

War with China over the seizure of the lorcha Arrow.

Hongkong, for assistance. Though the Chinese governor of Canton yielded to all Bowring's unjust and illegal demands, he naturally refused to apologise. War was at once declared, and in 1857 troops were sent to China.

Government
defeat on
the lorcha
Arrow
debate, and
general
election.

The high-handed conduct of English representatives in Canton and Hongkong led to an attack on the home government and in February, 1857, Lord Derby brought forward motions condemning the violent measures of the British authorities in China. In the Upper House the government though secured a majority of 36, was beaten in the Commons by a majority of 16 votes. Palmerston dissolved the Parliament and appealed to the country declaring the Chinese governor at Canton as an 'insolent barbarian' and saying that it is the duty of the people to support the servants of the crown when they fall in difficult situations in distant countries. His appeal was successful and Palmerston in the new House of Commons found himself with a majority of 70.

Lord Elgin was sent out with an army to China to settle the affairs there, but before he could arrive there all attention of the government had to be diverted to the Sepoy Mutiny which broke out in India. The Chinese War continued till 1860. (*Vide* p. 76).

Divorce Court Act:

Special
court creat-
ed for dis-
solving
marriages.

Though the session of 1857 was absorbed in Indian and foreign affairs, yet it effected one important domestic reform, by which a special court was created for hearing divorce-petitions which were now placed on the same footing as any other civil action, and thus brought redress for matrimonial wrongs within reach of those who could not afford to pay for dissolving their marriage by a private Act of Parliament. Gladstone opposed the bill most strenuously, but

Palmerston carried the measure in a significant manner.

Financial Crisis, 1857 :

It had its origin in America, due to the over-issue of paper-money. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount to 10 p.c. while certain private banks suspended payment. The government at last came to rescue, and by suspending the Bank Charter Act enabled the Bank of England to increase its circulation by the issue of additional notes to the amount of two millions sterling. Public credit was thus restored.

Suspension
of Bank
Charter Act,
1875.

Indian Affairs :

(a) Annexation of Oudh—(Vide V. Smith's Oxford History of India.)

(b) The Sepoy Mutiny—(Vide V. Smith's Oxford History of India.)

Palmerston's Attempt to end the Dual Government of India :

A motion was brought forward in the beginning of the session of 1858 to introduce a bill by which the Board of Control was to be abolished and a Council for India was to be established, thereby transferring the E. I. Company's government to the Crown. Though it was opposed vehemently by an able petition drawn up by John Stuart Mill on behalf of the Directors of the Company, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried by a majority of 145. (February 18, 1858).

Palmerston's
motion for
introducing
the Bill
carried.

Fall of the Ministry :

Before the above bill could be passed however, Palmerston was defeated on his Conspiracy to Murder Bill, which was introduced as the

The Orsini conspiracy, 1858. result of an Italian exile named Felice Orsini's attempt to assassinate by bombs the French Emperor Napoleon III while he was driving with the Empress to Paris. It transpired that the conspiracy was hatched in London, and accordingly the French Foreign Minister Count Walewski asked England in dictatorial language Palmerston's to alter her law of conspiracy. Palmerston by his bill wanted to make conspiracy to murder abroad punishable by penal servitude for life. Bill leading to his resignation. The bill however was defeated owing to the feeling that the bill was introduced at French dictation. Palmerston resigned office, (February, 1858), and the Queen sent for Lord Derby to form a government. "Palmerston once talked of having his 'tit-for-tat with John Russell' ; the Peace party now had their 'tit-for-tat' with him."

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSITION CABINETS.

Second Derby (Conservative) Ministry. (1858-59).

Prime Minister—Derby
Chancellor of Exchequer—Disraeli
Home Secretary—Spencer Walpole
Foreign Secretary—Malmesbury
Colonial Secretary—Stanley
Secretary-for-War—General Peel.

Formation of the Cabinet :

On Palmerston's fall, Derby formed the government, though the Peelites would not join him. Disraeli personally appealed to Gladstone without avail.

Settlement of Orsini Conspiracy Affair :

The French Emperor Napoleon III however soon made up the quarrel over the Orsini incident. The French Foreign minister Walewski apologised, and the French ambassador Persigny was recalled. The cloud thus disappeared, and Derby turned his attention to the Indian affairs.

Indian Affairs :

(a) India transferred from the Company's hands to the Crown—

The Sepoy Mutiny sealed the fate of the old Board of Control. On March 26, 1858 Disraeli brought in a bill drawn up by Lord

Disraeli's India Bill, modified at the instance of Russell, becomes law, 1858.

Effects of the Bill.

Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control. The previous Premier Palmerston, as we have already seen, had, in spite of John Stuart Mill's special pleadings on behalf of the Board of Control, decided to abolish the dual control in India. But Disraeli's bill did not satisfy at all. Russell suggested Disraeli to lay down in the form of resolutions the general principles of the bill, which was accordingly done, and thus eventually the India Bill became law on August 22, 1858.

The Indian affairs were to be controlled by a Secretary of State with the help of a council of fifteen, eight of whom were to be appointed by the Crown and seven by the Directors of the Company. Vacancies were to be filled by the Crown and members were to be elected for a term of years. It had been prophesied at the time of the Mutiny that the Company's rule would end on June 23, 1857 (the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Plassey); but the actual date of the end of the Company's rule was August 22, 1858.

The Queen's Proclamation to India—the great constitutional Charter of India issued, 1858.

(b) Lord Canning's confiscatory proclamation, of March 20, 1858, to the Talukdars of Oudh was so opposed in England that though Ellenborough resigned (May, 1858), it nearly overthrew the government which was regarded as wholly responsible for it. As a result, on November, 1858 Lord Canning issued the Queen's proclamation to the people of India, announcing that in future all acts of the India government should be done in the name of the sovereign only. The proclamation declared that,—

(1) the government would henceforth be carried on by the Viceroy in the name of the Queen of England;

(2) all treaties made by the E. I. Company would be retained;

(3) no extension of territories would be attempted for ;

(4) the rights and dignities of the Indian princes would be respected ;

(5) full religious toleration would be granted ;

(6) neither race, creed, nor colour would serve as a bar to the equality in the eye of law in respect of the treatment of the Queen's Indian subjects, nor debar them from public offices.

Domestic Legislations :

In 1858 Russell introduced the *Jewish Relief Bill* to give relief to the Jewish members of Parliament, who could not sit and vote in the Parliament, so long as they did not take the oath of abjuration "on the true faith of a Christian." The operative clause was omitted in the Lords at first, but at last they gave way and agreed to a compromise. The Commons passed resolutions permitting the Jews to take the oath in a modified form. The same year also witnessed a bill introduced by Locke King by which the property qualification for being Members of Parliament was abolished ; one of the demands of the Chartists was now fulfilled.

Removal of Jewish disabilities, 1858.

Abolition of Property qualification, 1858.

In 1859 Disraeli brought in a new Reform bill: (a) equalising town and country franchise at £10 i.e. giving people the power of voting if they paid at least £10 a year for their premises ; (b) depriving the 40s. free-holder in boroughs of his extra-vote for the country ; (c) creating certain "fancy-franchises" in order to provide for the representation of personal property, of education and of the liberal professions. Russell opposed the bill skilfully and the government was defeated by 39 votes.

Disraeli's Reform Bill defeated.

Derby appealed to the country instead of resigning, but only gained 25 seats in the election.

Foreign Affairs :

The
Cagliari
incident.

In 1857, the '*Cagliari*,' a Sardinian vessel was captured and taken to Naples by a Neapolitan squadron, on charge of releasing some Neapolitan prisoners from the island of Ponza. The crew of the vessel, including two English engineers, were imprisoned by the Naples government. Claredon, the then Foreign Minister of England could do nothing ; but Malmesbury, his successor compelled the king of Naples to release the Englishmen, to pay a compensation of £3,000, and to surrender the vessel to the English government.

The Franco-
Austrian
War and
attitude of
England.

During, the Franco-Austrian crisis of 1859, England, though mainly sympathised with Austria, tried her best to effect a peace which could not be ultimately done, owing to the ignorance of Malmesbury about the *Compact of Plombières* arranged between the French Emperor and the Sardinian minister Cavour, and the Austrian ultimatum to Sardinia asking for immediate disarmament.

Fall of the Ministry :

Govt. defeat
on Harting-
ton's
motion.

In the new House of Commons which met after the general election, Marquis of Hartington brought in a motion condemning the government for their Reform Bill and their management of the Franco-Austrian crisis and beat the government by 13. Derby resigned. The Queen sent for Lord Grenville who failed to form a government, and Palmerston at last formed his second ministry with Russell, Milner Gibson, and Gladstone under him.

The Year 1859 :

This year is a turning-point in the English history. By Gladstone's acceptance of office under Palmerston, it witnessed the absorption

of the Peelites in the Liberals, and marked the abandonment of all hope of reconstruction of the Conservative party. Gladstone who had started his life as a thorough Conservative becomes a leading man on the liberal side. "It was the parting of the ways, ultimately fraught with momentous consequences, both for good and evil, to the British empire." The year moreover is the beginning of a period of tranquillity or stagnation in English politics. Owing to the confusion in the party-system, domestic politics lost much of its vitality and men's minds began to be engrossed in international affairs and the dramatic changes that were taking place on the continent.

Confusion in the Party system, and its effects.

CHAPTER VIII.

Second Palmerston Russell (Whig) Ministry.

(1859—65):

Prime Minister—Palmerston.

Foreign Secretary—Russell.

Home Secretary—Cornwall Lewis.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Gladstone.

President of Board of Trade—Milner Gibson.

Secretary for War—Sidney Herbert.

Conclusion of the Chinese War :

The Treaty
of Peking.

Hostilities with China, which had commenced since 1857, still continued. In 1860 Lord Elgin returned to China. The Taku forts were captured and negotiations for peace began, but four Englishmen were treacherously murdered. On this the summer palace of the Chinese was burnt to the ground, a heavy compensation was exacted, and the *Treaty of Peking* was signed on Oct. 24, 1860 by which China accepted a British minister and she was thus brought into a close relation with Europe.

Abolition of the Paper-duty :

Gladstone's
Budget
reducing
duties on
paper at
first rejected
by the
Lords :

In Gladstone's budget of 1860, duties on food, timber, hops, and such other imported goods were abandoned; among them was included the paper-duty from which £ one million a year was derived. Palmerston in cabinet opposed the abolition of paper-duty and

it was carried only by nine votes in the Commons by Northcote. Palmerston wrote to the Queen saying "this may probably encourage the House of Lords to assert itself and Viscount Palmerston is bound in duty to say that if they do so they would perform a good public service." This was a very unusual 'stab in the back' for a colleague, explained by the fact that Palmerston and Gladstone were men of different opinions working together on the same side owing to the force of circumstances. The Lords did reject the bill; and the Commons in a careless fashion formally objected against the Lords' action as *ultra vires*. The resolution said that they must not mutilate a budget i.e., they must accept or reject it as a whole. On this subject, Gladstone and Palmerston actually spoke against each other in the Commons. Morley in his 'Life of Gladstone' has remarked that the defeat of the paper-bill by the House of Lords "had no inconsiderable share in propelling Mr. Gladstone along the paths of liberalism." The repeal of the paper-duty was however carried by Gladstone in 1861. The peers not caring to reject the whole budget, another instance of Palmerston's dislike of Gladstone came.

The constitutional issue.

National Defence Bill:

The French Emperor had annexed Savoy and Nice in 1860 in connection with the Italian war of 1859. This aroused strong suspicion in English mind, that having succeeded in defeating Austria, France might think of trying to humble England; and actually Palmerston wrote on the subject to the Duke of Somerset, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Already, whilst Lord Derby was Prime minister, young men had come forward to be enlisted as volunteers in defence of the country and Palmerston gave his full support to this volunteer move-

The volunteer movement in England.

ment which immensely strengthened the British army. The government also proposed in 1860 to spend £ nine millions in order to fortify Portsmouth, Chatham and Cork. Gladstone at first opposed in cabinet, but had to submit afterwards. Palmerston on this occasion wrote to the Queen that it would be rather advisable to lose Gladstone than to lose Portsmouth. In spite of this further instance of Palmerston's dislike of Gladstone these two men managed to work together for five years more, and how that was possible none can say.

Commercial Treaty with France :

Encouraged by Gladstone, Cobden however went over to Paris where he was able to negotiate a commercial treaty with Napoleon III by which France reduced duties on coal, iron, machinery &c. and abolished the prohibitory duties on all the staples of British manufacture (1860). The treaty served as a guarantee for good relations of Britain with France.

Foreign Affairs :

Italian War of Liberation.

In 1858, Cavour, the Prime minister of Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, persuaded the French Emperor, Napoleon III, to join Sardinia in a campaign against Austria in order to gain constitutional freedom in Italian states. The allied army defeated the Austrians in two great battles at *Magenta* and *Solferino* in 1859, and the Austrians were compelled to hand over Lombardy to Sardinia. In 1860, the Italians of the central provinces, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the northern part of the Papal states declared for union with Sardinia, which now began to be known as the Kingdom of Italy. Russell as Foreign Secretary supported them, and Napoleon, who had already made

Movement
for uni-
fication of
Italy.

peace with Austria after the battles of Magenta and Solferino, now acquiesced in the arrangement on being allowed to annex Savoy and Nice. In 1860, too, Garibaldi, the enthusiastic leader of the volunteers, the "Thousand Heroes," whose ideal was the union of Italy, raised an insurrection in Sicily and Naples, succeeded in deposing the Bourbon king Ferdinand II and gave the crown to Victor Emmanuel, who came to be declared as the king of Italy (excepting Venetia and Rome) by the Italian Parliament in 1861. Venetia was however annexed in 1870, when the unification of Italy became complete. However, throughout the entire crisis, Palmerston successfully maintained a strictly neutral attitude and abstained from all active interference though he had nobly lent a certain amount of moral support by insisting that the central Italian states should be permitted to decide their own destinies. Russell, had also written a formal despatch vindicating the action of the Italian revolutionists. Thus, there is no doubt, that the moral support given by England to the cause of the Italians helped much to bring about their union.

Support given to Italian movement by the English ministers.

Mexican Expedition :

A civil war was going on in Mexico ; France, Spain, and England jointly sent there an expedition in order to protect the European subjects living there. On receiving satisfaction from the President of the Mexican Republic, England and Spain withdrew from it in 1862, though a war was waged against the French Emperor by the Republic, which led to its subversion for a time and the appointment of Archduke Maximilian of Austria as its Emperor being prevailed upon by the French Emperor Napoleon.

Expedition to Mexico and England's attitude.

Troubles with the U. S. A.

In 1861 came the American Civil war. The Southern states seceded and formed a confederation of their own to uphold slavery. Though professing strict neutrality, the upper classes in England largely favoured the South as they did not believe the stories of the cruelty practised to slaves. The relations between England and the Northern states thus became much strained, and the two countries very nearly came to war in connection with the following affairs:—

(a) Trent affair

The British steamer 'Trent' boarded.

War between England and U. S. A., judiciously averted.

Slidell and Mason, two agents of the Southern Confederate government sailing to England and France as envoys by the British mail steamer 'Trent' were taken out of it by Wilkes, the captain of 'San Jacinto,' the United States' man-of-war. England protested against this breach of international law, and threatened war if the agents were not released and an apology asked for. Palmerston and Russell in their heat had actually ordered troops to Canada. But the Queen, acting on the advice of the Prince Consort suggested the U. S. A. government to declare that Wilkes had acted without orders and to release the prisoners. The federal government did this, and the war was avoided.

(b) Alabama Case

The 'Alabama' used as a confederate privateer.

In 1862, when the blockade of the southern ports by the federal government was going on, a ship called the 'Alabama' was being built at Birkenhead by the sympathisers of the Southern states to act as a privateer against the Northern states. Before she was completed, her destination and purpose were made known to the English govern-

ment, whose duty according to the International Law was to detain her. But owing to some unfortunate delays, the orders to stop her leaving the ports could not be given until after she had left that port. The ship did much damage to the Northern shipping, and the U. S. A. claimed compensation from the British government, which was peremptorily refused by Russell. This caused a great deal of estrangement of feelings of the U. S. A. towards England.

Demand for compensation from England which was refused.

The trouble was not settled till 1871, during Gladstone's Premiership. America made things difficult for England by claiming heavy compensation for the damage from the British government and asking to refer the matter to some sort of arbitration. Russell in 1865 wrote to Gladstone that it would be better to pay £20 millions than to arbitrate. Stanley in 1868 agreed to a mixed arbitration commission ; but this could not be done, as Seward, the American Secretary of State, wanted to take into account the British recognition of the Southern states as belligerents while reckoning damages. Again in 1869, the U. S. A. actually refused to ratify the draft arbitration treaty signed by Clarendon, the British Foreign minister, and preferred constructive claims which might have increased the amount of damages to £400 millions. Public opinion in England, however, began to accuse Russell for his want of promptitude in 1862, and demanded an early and honourable settlement of the question. In May, 1871, the High Joint Commissioners signed the *Treaty of Washington*, England expressing her regret for the escape of the '*Alabama*' and such other vessels, and the damage done by them. Five arbitrators, one each from England, Italy, Switzerland, Brazil, and the U. S. A., were to meet at Geneva and assess the amount of compensation. The case and counter-case were

The Alabama compensation question, referred to arbitration.

The decision of the Alabama question and its importance. presented on April 15, 1872, and the final decision was given on September 14 of the same year. In the meantime the Geneva arbitrators had held that the indirect claims did not constitute a valid ground for compensation, and fixed the sum to be paid by Great Britain at £ 3,250,000. As the first arbitration case in which a great international dispute was decided, the '*Alabama*' settlement formed an important precedent. But it annoyed the general public in England, who thought that the British prestige had suffered to some extent, and made Gladstone's government unpopular.

Schleswig-Holstein Question, 1863.

Denmark trying to incorporate Schleswig, Prussia and Austria forced her to cede the two duchies to them.

In 1863 Frederick VII of Denmark died and was succeeded with acquiescence of all the European powers by his relative Christian IX. Christian was at first recognised in Schleswig-Holstein also. But when he tried to incorporate the duchy of Schleswig with Denmark, he was immediately repudiated by the whole German population of the two duchies. All Germany was greatly agitated and threatened a national war against Denmark. Taking advantage of the situation, Bismarck persuaded Austria to associate herself with Prussia to solve the Danish difficulties. Accordingly in 1861 the Austrian and the Prussian troops entered the duchies, and in a quick campaign defeated the Danes and forced them to cede the two duchies to the victors. Much enthusiasm was excited in England by the stout resistance made by the Danes, specially as the Prince of Wales had in 1863 married Princess Alexandra, the daughter of the Danish king. Russell, the Foreign Secretary, used some menacing language in the Parliament, but his pronouncement was not translated into action. He failed to secure the consent of the French king to his suggestion that England and France should make a joint

representation to Austria, Russia, and the German Diet in favour of Denmark. Palmerston would probably have acted up to his threatening language, had it not been for the moderating influence of his colleagues and the Queen. The Queen even invited the private support of Lord Derby, the leader of the Opposition, and told him "let it be known that if Parliament did not adopt a pacific and neutral policy, she was prepared to dissolve it and let the country decide between herself and her ministers." In spite of all the efforts of the Queen to avoid England being involved in the war, in July, 1864, Mr. Disraeli moved a resolution in the Commons condemning the conduct of the government; but Palmerston eloquently replied to the motion and spoke as if the resolution before the House were a proposal to impeach the government for the entire course of their domestic policy. He said, 'if you vote for this resolution you turn Mr. Gladstone out of office; you give the Tories who understand nothing about Free Trade and who opposed the French Commercial Treaty, an opportunity of marring all that he has made.' This was the last great speech made by Palmerston. At last when division was taken Palmerston came out with a majority of eighteen. England thus escaped being involved in a war, and the two duchies were wrested from Denmark by Prussia and Austria.

English ministers eager to commit themselves on behalf of Denmark checked by the Queen.

Disraeli's motion against the govt. defeated.

Lancashire Cotton Famine :

During the American Civil War the Northern States having Blockaded the Southern ports, the supply of raw cotton into Lancashire was stopped, which led to the closing of the mills there and the consequent distress of the working classes. Between 1860 and 1862 imports of raw cotton into England dropped from £1500 millions to £500 millions

American Civil War and Stoppage of cotton Supply to England.

The working classes in cotton factories in England badly affected.

only. Still the working-classes of England did not grumble and continued to sympathise with the anti-slavery North, for they considered slave-owing as a crime and that the victory of the Northern States would lead to the abolition of slavery from America. Lord Derby organised, a Central Relief Committee in Manchester (1862) to relieve the starving multitude, and it was not till 1866 that normal condition returned.

Gladstonian Finance :

Palmerston's last ministry witnessed the golden days of Gladstonian finance. The removal of all restrictions on trade and the simplification of tariffs were Gladstone's primary objects which were manifest in his budgets for successive years.

(a) Budget of 1859 :

No diminution of receipts
Income-tax raised.

Commercial Treaty with France.

The condition of Europe in 1859 was not such as to allow any diminution of revenue, or of any economy in expenditure. There was a strong feeling that the defence of the country was not adequately provided for, and far larger grants for army and navy were necessary. With this prospect before him, Gladstone thought it necessary to avoid this year any diminution of receipts and even, as it was, he calculated the deficit at a considerable sum. To supply the sum he calculated the policy of Palmerston of avoiding loans and raising the required sums by direct taxation through the income-tax which was raised from 5d. to 9d. He also had effected a Commercial Treaty with France, (1859-60) which was modelled on Pitt's famous treaty of 1786. It was based on the principle that each country should lower its existing custom-duties on the goods of others. (*Vide Supra*).

(b) Budget of 1860 :

The main feature of the budget was a proposed repeal of the Paper-duty (*Vide, Supra*). It also included a scheme which entailed a considerable reduction of taxation owing to the French treaty, and further alterations and reforms in the customs. The budget passed the Commons, inspite of a determined opposition to the remission of Paper-duty, but was thrown out by the Lords. This involved a great constitutional question as to whether the Lords had any right of interfering with the money bill. The difficulty was got over by the tact of Palmerston who passed a series of resolutions which, while vindicating the rights of the Commons, allowed the rights of the Lords. Gladstone contended himself for the present with triumphantly carrying against the Opposition the rearrangement of the question.

Repeal of
Paper duty
proposed.

(c) Budget of 1861 :

In 1861, the Lords were out-manceuvred by making the repeal of the Paper-duty, a part of the budget of the year which would only be accepted or rejected in its entirety, and the Opposition peers shrank from a step which would have thrown the whole government into confusion. In this form, the repeal of the duty passed without difficulty. The budget also took off a penny, which had been added to the income-tax of 1860.

Paper duty
abolished :
Income-tax
reduced.

(d) Budgets of 1862 and '63 :

It was not found possible to introduce any important changes in the budget of 1862, owing to the increased expenditure of the army and the navy ; but when making his financial statements for 1863 Gladstone was able to show a substantial surplus and reduced the income-tax from 9d. to 7d. and the tea-duty from 1s. 5d. to 1s. The budget gave general satisfaction

Reduction
of Income-
Tax and
Tea duty.

and Mr. Gladstone was able triumphantly to point out success of the system he had followed. Both the import and export of the country had largely increased and there was also a marked increase of the wealth of the country as shown by the income-tax.

(e) *Budgets of 1864 and '65 :*

Reduction
of duties
on Tea and
Sugar.

They were little more than repetitions from that of 1863. On both occasions, in introducing, Gladstone emphasised the extraordinary advance of national wealth and traced it directly to the system he had followed. In each case he had a considerable surplus to deal with. He was able to reduce the Income-tax till 1865 and its rate was 4d. in the pound. In 1864 this reduction was coupled with the reduction of sugar-duties, and in 1865 with a further reduction of duty on tea.

This last budget of Gladstone has been stated by Paul to be the 'crown and summit' of this period of financial history.

Domestic Legislations :

Educational
Commission
and Revised
Code.

In 1860, a commission known as the 'New Castle Commission' was appointed to enquire into the state of popular education in England, and on its report Lowe introduced in the Commons in 1862 a '*Revised Code*' for acceptance, the object of which was to regulate government grants to schools on a system known as 'payment by results' (i.e. payment should depend on the child passing a satisfactory examination in elementary subjects); after great opposition, specially by the clergy, it was passed in amended form, and became the ground-work of subsequent educational legislation. Post Office *Savings Bank* was introduced under an Act of Parliament in 1861, and the same year a *Bankruptcy Act* was passed thereby removing

Postal
Savings
Bank.

the distinction between bankruptcy and insolvency and enabling non-traders to obtain relief. In 1863, the *Prisons Chaplains Act* provided for the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains in prisons. Between 1864 and 1865, three bills for Parliamentary Reform were introduced by different members, but all were rejected.

The Death of Prince Consort :

The Prince Consort Albert, little more than forty-two years of age, died in Dec. 1861, occupying no official position ; unrecognised in any theory of the constitution, the prince, confidential adviser and secretary of the Queen, had for many years exercised a permanent influence in English politics. Although at times he became the object of popular jealousy there is every reason to believe that the influence thus gained was beneficently and wisely used. He thoroughly mastered and accepted the principles of constitutional government of England, and undoubtedly under his guidance the political importance of the Sovereign was largely increased. The Queen's loss was irreparable and to the nation it was graver loss than it knew, for the value of the prince's temperate and sagacious counsel, specially in matters of foreign policy, was not thoroughly understood till sometime afterwards ; nor was it politically, that the loss of the Prince Consort was felt. He had devoted himself with rare success to the improvement and culture of the people and most of the advance in artistic taste, in love of music, and in general appreciation of what is beautiful on which the country justly prided itself, is due directly or indirectly to his influence.

Prince Consort, his position in English politics.

His death, a National loss.

General Election of 1866, and the Death of Palmerston :

In 1865, the Parliament after a tenure of six years was dissolved early in July. Conservative chances in the general election were damaged by the fact, that Derby had offended many by using the unfortunate phrase, that he objected to "unmuzzling" the Roman Catholics in connection with the discussion of the Roman Catholic Oaths Bill, the object of which was to substitute a less stringent form of oath instead of that imposed by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Though Gladstone lost his seat for the Oxford University owing to his views on the Irish Church question, he secured another seat in Lancashire. The result was that the Liberals gained 20 seats and had a majority of 60. But people in this election voted not for the government but for Palmerston, and his death on Oct. 18, 1865 ensured speedy destruction of the government. He died at Brocket in Hertfordshire at the age of eighty-one, when his popularity had reached its very zenith.

Estimate of Palmerston :

Palmerston
as a man
and a Parlia-
mentarian.

The death of Palmerston removed the most interesting and popular personality in English politics. He had a kindly heart and had very few enemies ; his manners were frank and genial, and he was absolutely free from affectation. He was a model combatant, and after the combat was over he was ready to sit down by the side of his opponent and talk with as a friend. He understood the moods of the House of Commons to perfection, and as such he could interpose dexterously just before the division to break the effect of some telling speech against him. The jests of Lord Palmerston had always a purpose in them, and he seldom indulged in any pleasantries that could wound or offend.

He was regarded both by the Liberals and the Conservatives as their leader and friend. He gained the support of the Tories for their fear of the Radicals, and the Radicals too supported him to avoid the Tories rising into influence, though there were some others of both the parties, like Bright or Disraeli, who were not satisfied with his dictatorship. He was a Whig by party connection, a Conservative in feeling, beloved with the masses though he sympathised very little with their aspirations, and thus he was really a great compromiser in an age of transition. In his domestic policy he had no liking for heroic legislations and was the declared enemy of reforms ; but eager to help all movements for liberty abroad, he adopted a foreign policy whereby he championed the cause of the oppressed nationalities on the continent and thus helped to disturb the relations between subjects and their sovereigns. He has thus been described as a 'conservative at home and a revolutionist abroad.' While he was suspicious of all changes at home, he was anxious to extend the influence and prestige of Great Britain abroad. He was opposed to further extension of the franchise, and Parliamentary Reform could not be effected till after his death. With his death, was therefore closed the period of transition through which England was passing while she was marching from aristocracy to democracy. It also ended, more decidedly than the Reform Act of 1832, the era of Whig ascendancy—the period during which England was governed by a group of great families who brought to power by the Revolution of 1688, were only nominally, dethroned by that of 1832. His death was the 'letting out of the waters of reforms and a prelude to a new era of stress and activity in domestic politics.'

CHAPTER IX.

Second Russell (Liberal) Ministry. (1865-'66).

Prime Minister—Russell.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Gladstone.

Home Secretary—Grey.

Foreign Secretary—Clarendon.

Colonial Secretary—Cardwell.

The New Cabinet :

After the death of Palmerston, the ministry continued to exist with very little alterations. Russell became the Prime Minister, and Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, became the leader of the Commons.

Jamaica Agitation and the case of Mr. Eyre :

Negroes
rising in
Jamaica.

Suppression
of the
rising with
severity.

This movement arose out of the extraordinary severity and contempt for legality, with which the Jamaica authorities under Governor Eyre had punished the Negroe insurrection in that country. These Negroes, armed with stones and cutlasses, besieged the court-house at Morant Bay, burnt it and killed eighteen whitemen in Oct. 1865. The rioters also began to ravage the neighbouring estates. The new governor John Eyre with the consent of his council proclaimed martial law in the county of Surrey, arrested and tried by court-martial one George William Gordon, a member of the House of Assembly and a Baptist preacher whom he thought to be responsible for

the affair, and sentenced him to death on insufficient evidence. He then continued the summary punishment and 439 persons were put to death, 600 flogged, including many women, though the rebellion had been closed. Cardwell, the Colonial Secretary on the report of a commission of enquiry recalled Mr. Eyre, but refused to prosecute him. An association was formed, known as the Jamaica Committee, to promote the prosecution: on the other hand, an Eyre Defence Committee consisting of men like Carlyle and Tennyson took up the defence. The case of Eyre however failed; and eventually the expenses he had incurred in defending himself were paid to him in 1872 by Gladston's government, and he was pensioned off in 1874.

Recall of Eyre, the Governor of Jamaica.

The case against Eyre failed.

Commercial Crisis, 1866 :

The ever-increasing number of joint-stock companies, since the passing of the Joint-Stock Companies Act in 1856, led to a dangerous increase in speculation. The failure of the London Chatham and Dover Railway Co., first brought about the crisis. Soon after, the bill-discounting house of Overend Gurney and Co., failed for £19 millions. There was panic in London. The Bank Charter Act was suspended in 1866 to give relief to the pressure of the Bank of England.

Rise of speculative spirit.

Suspension of Bank Charter Act.

Defeat of the Reform Bill, and the Fall of the Ministry :

The death of Palmerston struck the funeral note of £10 householders in England, who had really ruled the country since 1832. Further extension of the franchise had become necessary, but it had been stayed off by Palmerston. Russell, who had carried the reform of 1832, now proposed—(a) a lowering of the franchise from £10 to £7 rental franchise for house-

Russell's new Reform Bill.

holder ; (b) lodgers who paid a rent of £10 per year were to have a vote ; (c) the county-occupation franchise was to be £14 a year ; (d) vote should be conferred on all who have £50 in a savings 'bank for two years. This could add 400,000 voters in the register. Redistribution of seats was to be postponed.

• Opposition
by the Adul-
lamites :

Defeat of
the bill and
fall of the
Ministry.

There was opposition both among the Liberals and the Conservatives. John Bright likened the formation of the little band of malcontents to the doings of David in 'the Cave of Adullam,' and the name was applied to the discontented Liberals, Lowe and Horsman being the leaders of the cave. The cave steadily grew in number, and Lord Dunkellin, one of the cave, proposed to substitute 'rating' for 'rental' for the borough franchise. The government was defeated and resigned, (June 18, 1866). The defeat of the bill and the resignation of the ministry brought the political career of Lord Russell also to a close ; henceforth the task of leading the Liberal party went over to Mr. Gladstone.

CHAPTER X.

Third Derby and First Disraeli (Conservative) Cabinets.

(1866-'68).

Prime Minister—Derby ; then Disraeli.
Chancellor of Exchequer—Disraeli ; then
Ward Hunt.

Foreign Secretary—Stanley.
Colonial Secretary—Carnarvon ; then
Buckingham.
Home Secretary—Spencer Walpole.

Disraeli's Reform Bill :

In the autumn of 1867 two events gave a marked impetus to the progress of the Reform movement. One of these was the holding of a large meeting at Hyde Park in favour of Reform which ended in a riot. The other was a speech by Mr. Gladstone in which he asked the pertinent question 'Are not they, non-voters, of our own flesh and blood?' The phrase spread like wild fire and undoubtedly had great effect in determining the views of the country. Disraeli himself believed that some further measures of parliamentary reform were necessary. He proposed to deal with the Reform as a non-party question. He wished to increase the representation of labouring classes, but to create a system of 'checks and counterpoises' so that no one class might gain predominant power. The details of the resolutions as sketched by him were severely attacked by Lowe, Bright, and Gladstone and received coldly in the House: hence, they were with-

Circumstances leading to Disraeli's Reform Bill.

*

Reform Bill
as originally
proposed by
Disraeli :

drawn on the next day. The withdrawal of the resolutions led to the resignation of Cranborne, Carnarvon and General Peel, and Disraeli no longer troubled by divided counsels in the cabinet introduced his bill on March 18, 1867, proposing—

(1) Every house-holder in the boroughs was to have a vote if he personally paid the rate and had lived there for at least two years ;

(2) Franchise to be granted to all, in countries rated at £15 ;

(3) Many 'fancy-franchises' to be created *e.g.* clergymen, school-masters, university degree-holders, depositors of £30 in a savings-bank, possessors of £50 in government-papers. Payers £1 per year direct tax were to be allowed an extra vote ;

(4) Thirty seats to be transferred from smaller to large localities.

Opposition
to the bill :

Gladstone vehemently criticised the bill as a "gigantic instrument of fraud" and denounced this dual voting as a "proclamation of war of classes." Bright also attacked it as containing 'nothing clear, nothing generous, nothing statesmanlike' regarding the claims of the working classes. But in the end when the extension of the vote to the labouring classes was carried, the other measures introduced to pacify the doubting Tories disappeared in the tide of criticism. The bill was ultimately so changed that Cranborne said that the principles of Bright, as if, were adopted, being dictated by Gladstone. The Reform League opposed parts of the bill and demanded vote for lodgers. A huge meeting of 200,000 men took place in Hyde Park, which Spencer Walpole, the Home Secretary wanted to suppress but being permitted by Derby, who called it 'perfectly legal,' led to his resignation.

The following changes were then effected in the bill:

(a) The two years' residential qualification was reduced to one. Personal payment of rates was not necessary. Thus household suffrage was gained ;

Modifications in the Bill.

(b) Lodgers were given votes if they occupied rooms worth £10 a year (unfurnished);

(c) In counties the rating qualification was reduced from £16 to £12 ;

(d) All 'fancy franchises' disappeared ;

(e) Nine new boroughs were created and 25 seats were given to the counties. London University became a constituency with one representative only.

With these changes, the bill passed the Commons (July, 1867). Lord Cranborne (afterwards Lord Salisbury) attacked Disraeli and Derby in the Commons ; he said that it was a political betrayal which had no parallel in our annals. Lowe said the last word of the controversy : "the working men, the majority, the people who live in the small houses, are enfranchised ; we must now educate our new masters." Derby, though he supported the bill as a 'political necessity' described it as a 'great experiment' and adopting the expression Lord Cranborne said "the country is taking a "*leap in the dark*." Passions were excited the bill for the lack of principle shown in connection with it. A Conservative government had passed an essentially radical measure. Derby felt that he had 'dished the whigs' ; but Disraeli saw that a purely democratic electorate was preferable to the political domination of the middle classes. Cranborne sneered at Disraeli's policy of trick, but Disraeli knew what he was doing.

Opinions of political leaders on the bill :

The "Leap in the Dark."

In 1868 bills were carried dealing with franchises in Scotland and Ireland on same principles.

Canadian Federation :

The federation of Canada—a great measure of Imperial consequence.

In 1867, a notable and new experiment was attempted in British Colonial government. Lord Carnarvon's *British North America Act* brought out a confederation of some of the British North American states. The new constitution followed Lord Durham's lines ; there was to be a federal Parliament, consisting of two chambers—the House of Commons of 181 members, and a Senate of 72 nominees of the Governor-General. Provincial legislature continued to deal with local affairs. The executive was left in the hands of the Crown *i.e.*, in the Governor-General in Council. The four provinces were to have Lieutenant-Governors in each. Any other states than the four federating ones were to be admitted later. Others that joined were Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Islands. Newfoundland always kept aloof.

Domestic Affairs :

Measures concerning the working classes.

Two important legislations passed in the session of 1867 improved the condition of the working classes in England : by the extension of the *Factory Acts* further restrictions were placed about the appointment of women and children in dangerous trades ; *Lord Elcho's Bill* brought the workman on the same level with his master in cases of breach of contract.

The Elections Petitions Act, 1868.

As trade-union outrages went on increasing in places like Sheffield, Manchester, &c., a Royal Commission was appointed in Feb. 1867 to investigate about it. The early session of 1868 also witnessed the passing of the *Elections Petitions Act* by which a judge of the superior courts of law was to try the election cases. Moreover, the compulsory church-rates being abolished at the instance of Gladstone, the nonconformists were relieved to a great extent.

Proxy-voting was also abolished by the House of Lords.

Foreign Policy :

The Derby cabinet followed the policy of non-intervention in Europe. When the Seven Weeks' War broke out in 1866 between Prussia and Austria and the military strength of the Hapsburgs was shattered, England maintained a strict neutrality. Disraeli in a speech after the battle of *Sadowa* explained to his constituents why the government had adopted the policy, and justified non-intervention and struck the key-note of modern Imperialism. He said that England had outgrown the European continent and was a world-empire, more an Asiatic than a European power merely. England thus abstained from unnecessary intervention in European affairs ; but a proof that she was ready to exert her influence in all extra-European lands was soon given by the despatch and conclusion of an expedition which was sent to release certain Europeans in Abyssinia (1867-68). On one point only England was compelled to take an active part in the questions of European interest, when Luxemburg was separated from the Confederation of Germany after the Austro-Prussian War and Napoleon III objected to the continued occupation of the Prussian troops. At a conference held in London in 1868, the territory of Luxemburg was neutralised under a joint guarantee.

Austro-Prussian War and England's policy of non-intervention.

Imperialism of Disraeli.

English intervention in Luxemburg question.

Disraeli Ministry :

However in Feb., 1868, Derby resigned the Premiership through ill-health and was succeeded by Disraeli. Disraeli had rebuilt the Conservative party out of the ruins left by the Corn-law Split and he now reaped the reward by being the Prime Minister. His short tenure

of office was marked by a successful conclusion of the Abyssinian expedition.

The Fenian outrages in Ireland and the Irish question.

Gladstone's resolutions carried against the policy of the Govt.

During the sixties, there had been a renewal of discontent in Ireland carefully fostered by the American Irish Society of the Fenians. In consequence both the Russell and Derby ministries had suspended the operation of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland. In 1867, the Fenians had retaliated by various abortive risings and by a futile attempt to capture Chester and by an attack on Clerkenwall. Gladstone ascribed these outrages to the existence of real grievances in Ireland, partly ecclesiastical and partly agrarian. In April, 1868 he carried some resolutions in favour of disestablishment of the Episcopalean Church of Ireland. Disraeli appealed to the country, but finding from the results that he was in a hopeless minority, he resigned without waiting for the meeting of the Parliament.

A general election took place in 1868. The Liberals obtained a majority of 112 and Gladstone formed his first Ministry.

Rise of the Fenian Movement :

Condition of the Irish Catholics in the 19th century :

The state of Ireland in the nineteenth century was most deplorable one and it was due to centuries of wrongs perpetrated upon her. Since the days of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, the Protestant Anglo-Saxons had begun to colonise largely in Ireland, who by their superior education, and practical abilities soon grew to be rich and prosperous element of the Irish population and became chiefly the landowners in that country. On the other hand the position of the unpractical and less educated Celtic Irishmen, most of whom were Catholics, became gradually miserable one, as in order to secure a farm to avoid starvation they gladly promised to pay impossible rents and were

evicted by the landlords for non-payment. Again, until Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the Protestants alone had any share in the administration of the country, who used to wreak vengeance on the Catholics; and when the Catholic Emancipation Act finally allowed the Catholic Irish to sit and vote in the Parliament, the Anglo-Saxons still had the control over Irish administration, as by Pitt's Act of Union passed in 1800, there was but one Parliament for England and Ireland sitting at Westminster, where the cause of the Irish Anglo-Saxons was also backed up by their brethren in England. Thus up till the administration of Gladstone the Irish policy of the British government had been one 'alternation of kicks and kisses.'

The British
policy in
Ireland.

Moreover, one element of Irish discontent was beyond the power of the government to remove, viz., economic wants. The Catholic Irish were extremely poor, and improvident in their nature; and the population began to increase so rapidly, that even the Poor Law of 1838 could hardly cope with the increasing poverty in Ireland. At last the potatoe-famine of 1846 brought untold misery on the Irish people; thousands of them perished by starvation, and many thousands more emigrated to the U. S. A. cherishing in their minds a strong hatred for the English government, where the Irish Republican organisation known as the Fenian Brotherhood came to be planned and organised. Thus the Fenian movement was directly born of the Irish famine of 1846 and was not due to any particular act of injustice committed upon Ireland.

The economic dis-
tress in
Ireland, and
the potatoe-
famine of
1846.

In 1858, John O'Mahoney, a graduate of the Trinity College, Dublin, and who had joined in Smith O'Brien's rising of 1848, founded the Fenian Brotherhood in New York with the Fenian Brotherhood organised in America.

Object of
the Fenians.

object of overthrowing the British and establishing an independent Irish Republic. A provisional government was set up with all the array and the mechanism of an actual working administration. Large number of Irishmen began to emigrate to America and join the organisation. In Ireland, the movement was under the management of the "Head-Centre" James Stephens and his colleagues. Strangers who were mostly Irish-Americans began to pour in largely in Ireland and tell the Irishmen about the preparations that were being done in America for the accomplishment of Irish independence. On Nov. 15, 1865, at the office of the 'Irish People' a seditious newspaper in Dublin, the chiefs of the conspiracy were arrested, including O'Donovan Rossa the proprietor of the newspaper, and Stephens the "Head-Centre" with a few other accomplices. Stephens, however, escaped from prison and fled to Paris; but others were tried and condemned to various periods of penal servitude. The situation in Ireland became so alarming owing to the growing activity of those Fenian leaders who were still at large, that according to the suggestion of Lord Woodhouse, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Habeas Corpus Act had to be suspended early in 1866. Soon after, in May, 1866, the Fenians tried to invade Canada but they were driven back by the Canadians who had enrolled themselves with cheerfulness as volunteers. At the same time the U.S.A. government issued a proclamation which frustrated all hopes of the Fenians to procure assistance from her.

Fenian
conspiracy
in Ireland
and sus-
pension of
Habeas
corpus Act.

Fenian
activities
in Canada
arrested.

Fenian
attempt in
England
frustrated.

In Jan. 1867, the Fenians in America resolved to carry the war in England itself and in Feb. they prepared to take Chester castle where a quantity of ammunition and arms had been stored. The attempt, however, failed as infor-

mations were received early by the Home Secretary who took proper precautions. In Ireland, however, there was a more formidable attempt, 800 Fenians assembling in Kerry, who fled away on arrival of a regiment from Cork. This was followed by little risings all over Ireland under the leadership of the Irish-Americans, who had taken part in the American Civil war and returned to Ireland at its close. But before the summer of 1868, they were easily suppressed by the Royal Irish constabulary.

Fenian
risings in
Ireland sup-
pressed.

Plotting however did not stop and in England the sympathisers succeeded in carrying out a series of daring acts. In Manchester several Fenians rescued some Fenian prisoners from a prison van and in the struggle which ensued, a police sergeant was killed. The most diabolical outrage was committed in London by some Irishmen who blew down with gunpower the walls of Clerkenwall prison in which two Fenians were confined. The explosion shattered the adjacent houses, killing about a dozen people and wounding many more. The crimes called attention to the undoubted grievances of the Irish, and in 1868 Gladstone carried in the House of Commons a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church which led to a dissolution of the Parliament and the resignation of Disraeli. Thus we can easily see that it was natural for Gladstone on assuming office to say "my mission is to pacify Ireland." This may almost be taken as a motto of his later life.

Fenian
outrages in
England
drawing the
attention of
Gladstone.

Fall of
Disraeli
Ministry :
Gladstone's
mission.

CHAPTER XI.

First Gladstone (Liberal) Ministry.
(1868-74):

Prime Minister—Gladstone.
Chancellor of Exchequer—Lowe ;
 then Gladstone himself.
Home Secretary—Bruce ; then Aberdare.
Foreign Secretary—Clarendon.
Colonial Secretary—Granville.
President of Board of Trade—John Bright.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869:

Gladstone's resolution with regard to the disestablishment of the Irish Church had caused the fall of the previous Conservative ministry and it was for the special purpose of carrying it out that he had been called to power.

The 'alien church' in Ireland—one of the three evils.

The Irish peasant remained through centuries of persecution devotedly faithful to the Catholic Church ; nothing could win or wean him from it. Gladstone had for sometime been thinking of the unfair position of the Anglican Church in Ireland which was the church of the minority and being forced on the Catholic Irish people came to be the established church. In a speech, on Dillwyn's motion in 1865, he transferred the support of the established church in Ireland from the ground of principle to that of expediency. This speech very much alarmed all Churchmen and Oxford in particular.

**Gladstone's
bill to
remedy the
evil.**

The new Parliament met in Dec. 1868 and the cabinet prepared the *Irish Church Bill*. The national church of Ireland included about 10

p.c. of the population, the rest being Roman Catholics. The provisions of the bill were—

(1) Irish church to be separated from the English church; (2) Ecclesiastical courts in Ireland to be abolished; (3) Irish church to be disestablished; (4) Bishops and Archbishops to be excluded from the House of Lords; (5) Irish church to become a private corporation governed by a synod of its own; (6) Irish church property of £16 millions to be confiscated, except that given since 1660 by private individuals. (7) £9 millions were to be given back in one way or other to the new governing body; the rest should be spent for relieving the distress of the suffering poor.

Disestablishing and dis-endowing the Irish Church proposed.

The bill though stoutly resisted by Mr. Disraeli and his party was passed by the Commons. The Queen disliked the bill. The chief question was whether the Lords will throw it out. Many people thought that Protestantism was in danger and not only the Irish church, since the union of the church and the state in a Christian country was a religious axiom. Magee, the Bishop of Peterborough, made a speech denouncing the bill and urging the peers to give up all considerations of prudence and reject it. Gladstone at the same time irritated the peers by calling them as 'men who must have been living in a balloon.' In spite of these the peers did not reject the bill, but instead, tried their best to carry out some amendments. The result was that a constitutional crisis was avoided, but about £850,000 extra was secured for the disestablished church. On July 26, 1869 the measure received the royal assent.

Passage of the Bill in the Commons and in the Lords.

Thus the Irish Protestant church was partly disendowed and disestablished, and was henceforth left free to manage its own affairs without state interference or help, and there seems little doubt that these changes have worked for good.

Effects of the Irish Church Bill.

The Irish Land Act, 1870 :

The defects
prevailing
in the
Irish Land
System.

Ireland is essentially an agricultural country, and the Irish grievances were mainly economic. Farms were small and too numerous; the common-tenure was 'tenancy-at-will,' without lease or written contract, terminable at six months' notice. If a tenant made improvements, the landlord used frequently to raise his rent. As a result crimes followed often. And what was still more anomalous was, that at the end of a tenancy the whole of those improvements went to the landlords. Again, in the absence of manufactures farming being the only industry in Ireland, the result was that the Irish peasant was more willing than an Englishman or a Scotch to offer a rent which he could not reasonably offer to pay. Again Russell's 'Encumbered Estates' Act of 1849 had caused the transfer of many estates to landlords who were bent on making their investments remunerative. The peasantry in their eagerness to retain their lands often promised rents which they could not pay and the result was immense increase in the number of evictions. Ulster however was better-off, for there rents were fixed not by competition but by fair valuation and it could not be raised on improvement and the tenant on leaving the property received the value of his 'tenant-right.' What the Irish farmer needed was the fixity of tenure, freedom of sale of tenant's interest, and fair rent fixed by an authoritative court.

Needs of
the Irish
farmer.

The Irish
Land Question
in the
Cabinet.

The introduction of the land question aroused some dissension in the cabinet. It was decided to introduce dual ownership; and as it was an interference with the naked rights of properties, Lower, Cardwell, and other followers of Ricardo did not like it. Lowe became inclined even to resign office, but ultimately accepted the scheme with certain amount of

misgiving and a prediction that Gladstone was "steering straight upon the rocks."

On Feb. 15, 1870, Gladstone introduced his *Irish Land Bill*, taking the 'Ulster tenant-right' as the basis of his legislation. The provisions of the bill were: (1) a tenant evicted without fault of his own was to receive compensation for unexhausted improvements (this was meant to prevent wanton evictions and wanton increase of rents); (2) a tenant at a rent not exceeding £50 was not allowed to contract with his landlord that this law should not apply, and any landlord contracting out of the law must grant a lease of at least 31 years. Bright added a clause, allowing government loans to be granted to tenants to buy their holdings when their landlords were willing to sell.

Gladstone's Irish Land Bill, based on Ulster custom.

Public opinion was so strongly in favour of the general principles of the measure that the bill became law without any direct opposition. Though a vast number of amendments were proposed in both the Houses, yet none of them were carried which vitally affected the measure.

The bill passed.

Great and revolutionary though the measure was it did not produce all the good that was expected of it. It interfered with the landlords' right of disposing of his land on the absolute basis of free contract; but it gave the tenants neither fixity of tenure nor security against rack-renting. It made no provisions to prevent the landlords raising the rent as the tenant's improvement made his holding more valuable, and ultimately of evicting him for what he could not pay. The landlords, being allowed to contract out of the law with the tenants, might induce them to abandon all claims to the benefits which Parliament wanted to render. The liberty of action with regard to tenants was restricted only by a pecuniary fine, which could not deter them from adopting their own course,

Results of the Irish Land Act.

and evictions went on increasing under the operation of the new laws.

Peace
Preservation
Act, 1870.

The Ribbon
Society,
and the
Westmeath
Act, 1871.

As a matter of fact, even while the bill was in progress, it had been thought necessary to introduce and rapidly pass another bill known as the *Peace Preservation Act* for the supposed disorder of Ireland whereby the use of fire-arms was forbidden in proclaimed districts, and the police and the magistrates were given extraordinary powers. The same year Gladstone granted amnesty to several Fenian prisoners. In spite of these measures the situation in Ireland did not improve, and the government appointed a secret committee to enquire into the condition of Westmeath and adjoining districts in Ireland where a secret society, the Ribbon Society, was at work against Protestantism and landlordism, and whose law prevailed over the law of the land. Crime and terrorism made the situation worse. So in 1871 the *Westmeath Act* was passed which empowered the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim certain districts and to commit without trial suspected persons. The law was to remain in force for two years. Though outrages continued for some time more, the leaders of the Ribbon Society fled to America.

English Elementary Education Act, 1870 :

Condition
of national
education in
England
deplorable.

While Mr. Gladstone was legislating for England, Mr. Forster had passed through the Parliament, the *Elementary Education Act* which was a long step towards furnishing England with a system of national education. The state-education had begun in 1833, when the Parliament voted a small amount of £20,000 for elementary education. In 1839 the grant was raised to £30,000 and the funds were transferred to the Educational Committee of the Privy Council. In 1860, the grant was over a million, while the Newcastle Education Commission in

that year held that the teaching was often very bad. Statistics showed only too plainly that the country was still far from possessing an efficient system of public education. In 1862, Lowe's 'Revised Code' introduced 'payment by results'; but the results did not prove satisfactory. In 1869, there were in the British isles 4,300,000 children of school age, of whom half the children did not attend the school at all; and about 1,300,000 were in denominational schools belonging mainly to the Church of England and supported by voluntary subscriptions, parent's fees and government grants, though subject to government inspection. The other one million children went to bad schools which got no government grants, and so were not inspected by government.

The country became aroused to the need for education. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the Chairman of the Birmingham Education League demanded that education should be secular, compulsory and free. Mr. Fawcett was for compulsory, but not for free education. Mr. Forster had a plan first to supplement the voluntary system by providing good schools all over the country, and then to get the parents to send their children to schools. His *Elementary Education Bill* of 1870 provided that—wherever adequate primary education was not provided by voluntary efforts, a school-board was to be elected by the rate-payers; these boards could levy a local rate for the building and upkeep of the schools; in schools supported by the rates, no special sectarian dogmas might be taught. By the Cowper-Temple clause, it was enacted that religious teaching must consist simply of reading and expounding the Bible, all catechisms or distinctive dogmatic formularies being avoided. The voluntary schools, which were built and owned

Forster's
Elementary
Education
Bill, 1870.

by denominational bodies, might as before teach their special dogmas and creeds.

Alterations
in the
Elementary
Education
Bill.

On Gladstone's proposal, despite radical opposition from Birmingham League, the parliamentary grant to voluntary schools was doubled. Other alterations were made while the bill was passing through Parliament; viz., all children attending voluntary schools, might be withdrawn from the religious lessons if their parents did not like those special forms of teachings; the age to which compulsory attendance should be required was raised to 13.

Results of
the Educa-
tion Act.

In spite of some defects there can be no doubt that by placing the opportunity of schooling within the reach of all and by exerting pressure on parents and placing before them the duty of training their children, the bill has established the principle of universal education and partly the principle of unsectarian education in the country.

Other Domestic Reforms :

Civil
Services
opened.

(a) In 1870, all posts in the Civil Service, except in the Foreign office, were finally thrown open to competitive examination. (b) By the *University Tests Act* of 1871, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to the Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters by the abolition of all religious tests.

Trade Union
Act, 1871.

(c) The *Trade Union Act* of 1871 legalised the Trades Unions. (d) In 1872, a *Ballot Act* substituted secret voting in the election of the House of Commons, thereby enabling persons dependent on others for their livelihood or advancement to give their votes freely without fear of being deprived of employment if they voted otherwise than their employers wished. (e) The *Licensing Act* of 1872, gave to magistrates a better control over public-houses. (f) The *Judicature Act* of 1873 united the superior

Ballot Act,
1872.

courts of laws, those of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Chancery &c. into one Supreme Court of Judicature consisting of tribunals of first instances and a Court of Appeal.

Cardwell's Military Reforms:

The astounding events of the Franco-Prussian war led to a wide-spread agitation for Army-reform in England. The startling success of Prussia showed that the most formidable army in Europe consisted mainly of civilian soldiers who had been trained only for two or three years in the ranks. The task of reforming the army of England fell upon Cardwell, the Secretary for War. By the *Army Enlistment Act of 1870*, he introduced the 'short-service' system, whereby men were to be enlisted not for more than twelve years as heretofore, but for three years; and after spending this period with the colours they were to be free to resume their civilian occupations, but to be liable to be called out if necessary. In 1871, the control of the subsidiary forces—militia, yeomanry, volunteers—was transferred from the Lord-Lieutenants of counties to the Crown. Finally, the *Army Regulation Bill*, for putting an end to the system by which officers purchased their commissions in the Army, passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords; whereupon on Gladstone's advice, the Queen by royal proclamation cancelled the warrant which authorised the purchase of commissions. This high-handed course of action taken by Gladstone gave a fair opening for unfavourable criticism, Disraeli going so far as to denounce it as a 'shameful and avowed conspiracy of the cabinet against the privileges of the Upper House'. Far-reaching military reforms introduced by Cardwell modernised the army. Purchase system abolished by a Royal Warrant

Irish University Bill, 1873 :

Gladstone's
Irish
University
Bill de-
feated, and
Gladstone
resigned but
had to
return to
office.

Ireland, which was destined to cause the ruin of Gladstone ultimately, nearly destroyed his government now. He introduced a Irish University Bill in the session of 1873. The Dublin University was an examining body merely. The chief college attached to it viz the Trinity College, was Protestant in tone, though the Roman Catholics were admitted from 1794. Since the disestablishment of the Irish Church it had even admitted the Roman Catholics to Fellowships except theological ones. Moreover the Roman Catholics did not like that their sons might come in contact with Protestant ideas. Gladstone proposed,—(a) to make the University of Dublin a teaching as well as a degree-granting body ; (b) to affiliate to the University the secular college of Belfast and Cork, the so-called Royal Catholic University, Trinity College, and similar other institutions ; (c) to remove all religious tests in the University for teachers and students ; (d) there were to be no University-professors of Modern History, Theology, and Mental and Moral Philosophy ; (e) any professor offending by his lecture or writings the religious conviction of any member of the University should be suspended. [Clauses (d) and (e) were called the 'gagging' clauses.] The guiding principle of the bill, thus, was 'that Catholics and Protestants' should share side by side in mixed, or united, education.' It was therefore assailed from all sides, and the opposition of the Irish members in the end proved fatal to the bill which was defeated by three votes. Gladstone resigned, but as Disraeli was unwilling to take office, Gladstone resumed the government again.

Foreign Affairs :

Franco-Prussian War :

Throughout the campaigns of the **FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR OF 1870-71**, which resulted in the formation of a German Empire under the King of Prussia, the British government maintained an attitude of strict neutrality. This determination of the British government was however put to a severe strain. There was a prevalent feeling in England that France had forced the war on Prussia, and English sympathy was at first entirely with the Germans. But the phenomenal success of the Germans soon brought about revulsion of a generous pity for the old rival. Bismarck however prevented English sympathy with France from taking a practical shape by divulging through the Berlin correspondent of the 'Times' a draft treaty showing the scheme of Napoleon for the absorption of Belgium. The excitement caused in England, by the revelation of this project, was considerable. But the government stood firm in its policy of neutrality, and it contracted a special treaty in 1870, both with France and Prussia to the effect that it would join either party to repel any encroachment upon the integrity of Belgium by the other.

British
neutrality
in Franco-
Prussian
War.

The English
guarantee
for
Neutrality.
of Belgium.

The Black-Sea Question :

Taking advantage of the humiliation of France and prompted by Bismarck, Russia declared in 1870 that she was no longer bound by the Black-Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris (Wade p. 65). England at first protected vigorously, but finally a conference of the signatory powers to the treaty met in London which formally abrogated the clauses in 1871.

Abrogation
of the Black
Sea clause
of the Treaty
of Paris.

Alabama Arbitration :

The Geneva
Award
against
England,
1872.

Great Britain in 1871 entered into the *Treaty of Washington* with the U. S. A., whereby the claims of the latter government to compensation for the damages inflicted by the '*Alabama*' were submitted to international arbitration, (*Vide p. 81*) and in the following year the Geneva tribunal consisting of five arbitrators representing England, U. S. A., Italy, Switzerland and Brazil gave an award of over £3,000,000 which was promptly paid. A wide-spread impression that Great Britain had been over-reached both by Bismarck and the Americans was the prime cause of the fall of Gladstone's government.

Colonial and Indian Affairs :

In Colonial matters the period was marked by the development of common action among the various groups of colonies.

Canada.

The Canadian federation was joined by Manitoba in 1870, Columbia with Vancouver in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873.

Africa.

In 1872 Griqualand West, which recently had become valuable through the discovery of diamonds, was acquired from the native chief. The same year Cape Colony received a responsible government. Further north, the Dutch stations on the Gold Coast were acquired by the British government in exchange for its claims for Sumatra &c. This transfer led to a war with the natives of Ashanti which was brought to a successful issue in 1874.

The
Ashanti-
War.

Russian
advance in
Central Asia
checked.

On the North-West frontier of India, the policy of 'masterly inactivity' with regard to Afganistan was followed by the two successive Viceroy's after Sir John Lawrence. Owing to the Russian occupation of Khiva, Granville, the successor of Clarendon in Foreign Secretaryship, effected an agreement with Prince

Gortchakov, by which the political boundary of Afganisthan was defined.

The Queen's Seclusion and the Country :

Since the death of Prince Consort in Dec. 1861, the Queen began to take less and less part in public functions. For some time the people felt much sympathy for her widowhood ; but her continued seclusion from social activity and public duty for ten years caused much resentment and roused public criticism. Gladstone felt that the hold of the Monarchy on the people might be loosened as a consequence, specially when there was a rise of republican sentiment in England after the fall of the French Empire in 1871. Sir Charles Dilke made himself the exponent of this feeling in Parliament, and he brought a motion in 1872 to enquire into the Civil List. Gladstone insisted that the Queen's personal income was at her own disposal. Dilke was caricatured in the papers as 'Citizen Dilke' or the 'future President of Britain.' Meanwhile the Queen's illness followed by the serious illness of her son the Prince of Wales, evoked the sympathy of the people ; and on recovery when the Queen attended with the Prince the thanks-giving service at St. Paul's, she received an enthusiastic ovation. As years rolled on the Queen's popularity increased, specially owing to the pleasing treatment of Disraeli, and it found its expression in the two Jubilees of 1887 and 1897.

Public attitude on the Queen's seclusion.

Sir Charles Dilke's motion.

Increase in Queen's popularity.

Fall of the Ministry :

Early in 1874, however, Gladstone dissolved the Parliament in order to take up the sense of his country on his extensive reforms. The election resulted in a Conservative majority, and Gladstone at once resigned.

Estimate of Gladstone's First Administration :

A vigorous programme of reforms carried out.

It was during the first great administration of Gladstone that the liberal desires, kept in abeyance during Palmerston's tenure of office, had at length made themselves felt. Although it closed in some unpopularity, it was nevertheless true, that no government had ever approached office with so vast a programme. In course of his election speech in Lancashire, he had declared that the Irish upas-tree had three great branches: the State Church, the Land Tenure System, and the System of Education, and that he meant to hew them all down if he could; and with the solitary exception of the Irish University Bill he carried that programme through. The Irish Land bill, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Education Act, the introduction of the Ballot, the Licensing Act, the Judicature Act, the abolition of Purchase in the Army, the organisation of the military forces, the opening of the Civil Service to public competition, and the inauguration of the system of International arbitration are achievements sufficient to render any ministry in the last degree memorable. But in the opinion of the large mass of Englishmen, legislations had been carried too far: there had been 'reformation in a flood'. Every concern and every interest had been vexed and wearied. It was, on the other hand, maintained that the principle of peace and non-intervention had been used in a way detrimental to English interests and to the damage of the high position among the nations, though it is difficult to see what other course could have been adopted with regard to the Franco-Russian War, the Black-Sea question or the 'Alabama' claims. It was as the expression of this class of feeling that the triumph of the Conservative party in the elections must be regarded due.

Foreign policy not spirited enough.

CHAPTER XII.

Second Disraeli (Conservative) Ministry. (1874-80).

Prime Minister—Disraeli (Earl of
Beaconsfield).
Chancellor of Exchequer—Northcote.
Home Secretary—Cross.
Foreign Secretary—Derby, then Salisbury.
Colonial Secretary—Carnarvon, then
Michael Hicks-Beach.

Quietude in Domestic Politics :

The new ministry was marked by a great quietude in domestic politics. Such a policy was necessarily forced on the ministry by its predecessor's activity. Whatever Disraeli's disapprobation may have been of the liberal measures already passed, the new ministry could not at first reverse them altogether, without giving them a fair chance of being tried for sometime. Acceptance of what had already been done, with slight alterations and amendments, and the introduction of gentle measures of social improvements formed the whole policy of Disraeli's second ministry.

Thus, the *Licensing Bill* of 1874 simply amended the *Licensing Act* of 1872, whereby inquisitorial incursions on the part of the police into public-houses were abolished. The *Scottish Patronage Bill* (1874) vested presentations in the communicants of the parishes and the members of the congregation. The *Public Worship Regulation Act* of 1874 conferred power "for

A comparative lull in the legislative activity.

Domestic measures.

facilitating, expediting, and cheapening proceedings in enforcing clergy discipline." Northcote's budget of 1875 reduced income-tax by a penny and abolished sugar and horse duties. The Parliament in its sessions of 1876 and 1878 passed such beneficial measures as Cross's *Public Health Act*, Cairn's *Settled Estates Act*, *Agricultural Holdings Act*, *Friendly Societies Act*, *Artisans' Dwelling Act*. Labour laws were amended by the *Employers and Workmen Act*, *Factory and Workshops Act* and the right of workmen to combine for raising their rate of wages was admitted by the *Trade Unions Act*.

Foreign Affairs :

Vigorous
foreign
policy of
the govt.

The chief interest of Disraeli's (now Earl of Beaconsfield since 1876) second ministry is its active foreign policy, and the most prominent events were connected with the East and South Africa, and of these two spheres of action the former specially attracted the attention of the Prime Minister himself. He also nearly involved England in a war with Russia in connection with the Eastern Question, but he ultimately won "peace with honour" by accepting the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (1878) and thereby protected British interests in the Eastern from Russian aggression. In India also he had to adopt a war-policy in connection with Afganistan owing to a suspicion of the Russian designs there.

Egypt :

Khedive's
share in
the Suez
Canal pur-
chased by
Britain.

In 1875 Disraeli effected a sensational stroke of policy when the British government purchased the Khedive's share of the Suez Canal, forming nearly half of the capital of Suez Canal Company, thus obtaining not only remunerative investment but also an effective control

over the direct route to India. This splendid stroke of statecraft, for a while, filled the mind of the mass of Englishmen, with a glow of national pride and may be regarded as the beginning of that feeling of Imperial self-assertion which is the striking note of Disraeli's administration. In 1879 Great Britain and France acting principally as the share-holders of the Suez Canal Company interfered jointly in the affairs of Egypt, deposed the extravagant Khedive Ismail in favour of his son Tewfik and established a system of dual control which led to further intervention a few years later. In all the Egyptian dealings, Great Britain was mainly interested in Egypt which was the half-way house to India.

Dual control
over
Egypt
established.

South Africa :

In South Africa difficulties mainly arose out of the disturbed relations between the Transvaal Boers and the various tribes on the borders. Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, thought that the last cure was to bring about a confederation of South African colonies. Accordingly, in 1876, he sent Sir Bartle Frere to the Cape as Governor and High Commissioner, as being the best man to carry the project to an effect. At the same time, he deputed Sir Theophilus Shepstone to persuade the Transvaal Republic to join the proposed confederation ; but finding the strongest objection of the people he abruptly declared the annexation of the Republic to the British Empire in 1877. This high-handed act led to disastrous results. Not only were the Boers themselves disappointed, but they handed over to the imperial government all their difficulties and hostilities. They had specially been on bad terms with the Zulu chief Cetywayo. Sir Bartle Frere determined to break the Zulu

Annexation
of Trans-
vaal 1877.

War with
the Zulus,
1879.

power. In 1879 Lord Chelmsford overthrew Cetuywayo in the district known as Zululand. The campaign was a forced and unsuccessful one. The British contingent was overwhelmed at *Isandhlwana* and another narrowly escaped the same fate at *Rorke's Drift* but finally Chelmsford stormed *Ulundi*, the Zulu capital, and took the king prisoner. The native peril being thus overpowered, the Transvaal Boers expected either independence or at least self-government promised to them. But a change of ministry at home distracted attention from them at a very critical moment.

The Eastern Question :

Revolt of
Bosnia and
Herzegovina
against
Turkey.

The
Andrassy or
Austrian
Note accept-
ed by
England.

Outbursts
of fanati-
cism in
Turkey.

In spite of the Crimean War, Russia was always on the look-out for a chance of profiting by the incompetence of Turkey. In 1875, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two Christian provinces of the Ottoman Empire rebelled against the atrocities committed by the Turks, being partly promoted by Austria. Turkey could not at first suppress these risings. In Dec., 1875, Count Andrassy, the foreign minister of Austria issued a Note to the powers, proposing that—the Sultan should allow religious freedom in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a mixed commission consisting of an equal number of Christians and Mahomedans should effect reforms there. England accepted the Andrassy Note though she hoped very little result coming out of it. Fightings however went on in both the provinces, and in 1876 rising also took place in Bulgaria. Turkey had lost its control over the army and the Bulgarian rising was repressed by the Turkish irregulars with horrible torture and massacre. In addition, a Mahomedan religious rising took place at Salonica, where the French and German Consuls were murdered for having rescued a Mahomedan convert to Christianity. At the same time, the

so-called' reform party in Turkey compelled Sultan Abdul Aziz to abdicate, who was murdered shortly after. Murad, his nephew succeeded, but proving to be incompetent he was deposed, and his brother Abdul Hamid occupied the throne.

Before the end of June, 1876, Servia and Montenegro made war upon the Turks. In May, 1876, Bismarck, Gortchakov, and Andrassy had issued the 'Berlin Memorandum,' insisting on an armistice for three months. England declined to support the Memorandum, and ordered the British fleet to anchor in Besika Bay when the Mediterranean fleets of France and Germany had arrived in the Turkish waters. The Memorandum had also suggested armed intervention, which Disraeli denounced as he wanted to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in accordance with the treaty engagements of England with Turkey.

The Berlin Memorandum.

England's attitude.

In the autumn of 1876, public opinion in England, however, began to condemn the 'Bulgarian atrocities' by the Turks. Gladstone issued a pamphlet on 'Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East' which practically suggested that an armed intervention should be made by England against the Turks to clear them out "bag-and-baggage from the province which they had desolated and profaned." This offended Disraeli too much. Although the aim of Derby, the Foreign Secretary, was to maintain peace, still he could not but officially reprimand the Turkish government for the massacre of the Bulgarians.

Gladstone's enthusiastic denunciation of Bulgarian atrocities by the Turks.

Meantime, the Servians under their self-styled king Milan were being defeated by the Turks successively. Russia thereupon compelled the Porte to grant a month's armistice by threatening her with a war. Disraeli on the other hand, according to the traditional policy of England to support Turkey against Russian

Disraeli's preparations against Russian intervention.

aggression, began to be ready for war with Russia, if it became necessary, as he had now thoroughly gauged the aggressiveness of the Czar.

Failure of
the Confer-
ence at
Constanti-
nople.

According to the Russian proposal, however, a conference of European ambassadors was held at Constantinople in January, 1877 to settle all questions at issue; but the Porte rejected the demands of the powers. As other European powers refused to take any action, Russia declared war on Turkey on April 24, 1877. *Kars* fell to the Russians, but their advance was checked at *Plevna* by Osman Pasha who however had to finally surrender to them. *Adrianople* also fell in the hands of the Russians in January, 1878.

Russo-
Turkish
War, 1877.

England's
anxiety
about way
to the East

England, meanwhile, took steps to protect her own interests. In reply to a letter of Derby, Gortchakov definitely promised that military operations should not be carried on in such a way as to obstruct the Persian gulf and the route to India, Egypt or the Suez Canal, nor Constantinople should be acquired.

Gladstone's
'bag-and-
baggage'
policy.

As already mentioned, Derby wanted to maintain peace, while Gladstone with Fawcett, Chamberlain and Carlyle continued to agitate for 'bag-and-baggage' policy. 'With Gladstone', Morley says, 'the anti-Turkish agitation had become a strong obsession.' But the British government continued to maintain the policy of neutrality, ready to intervene only in case of Russia's breach of promise to Derby.

English
fleet sent
towards
Constanti-
nople.

Feeling of indignation against the actions of Russia in Turkey began to grow in England. A 'militant jingoism' throughout England began to welcome the idea of war. Russians had now begun to advance towards *Chataldja*; England sent a fleet under Hornby towards Constantinople as a protest against Russia, and

strong military and naval preparations went on in the country

On March 3, 1878, the *Treaty of San Stefano* was however signed by Turkey, at the dictation of Russia, which contained the following terms:—creation of a 'big Bulgaria' as a self-governing tributary principality; Montenegro, Roumania, and Servia to be independent, and Bosnia and Herzgovina to be autonomus parts of the Turkish empire.

The Treaty of San Stefano, 1878.

England refused to accept the treaty and specially objected to the creation of a Bulgaria which was to come right down to the Ægean Sea, whereby all the states of the Balkan peninsula would come to be the vassals of Russia. She insisted that the treaty should be submitted to an European congress, with power to revise any of its terms. Russia raised no objection to the treaty being ratified by an European Congress, but would not allow it the power to do away with any particular article of the treaty which she wanted to retain as being necessary. This was a dead-lock. The Congress negotiations were thus broken and England began to prepare for a war. Derby resigned the Foreign Secretaryship which was taken up by Salisbury. 7,000 native troops from India were brought to Malta. The war-spirit ran high in England, and a mob of 'Jingoists' in London even broke Gladstone's windows.

Britain's demand for an European Congress not accepted.

Russia and England now on brink of war.

At a private meeting held on May 30, 1878 between Salisbury and Shuvalov, it was arranged that the 'big Bulgaria' was to be divided into two provinces—the south one not to reach the Ægean and should be subject to Turkey but under a Christian governor; the protection of the Ottoman Empire in Asia was recognised as chiefly resting on England. On these terms England agreed not to press for the revision of the rest of the treaty.

Secret agreement between England and Russia.

The Con-
gress of
Berlin.
1878

The Congress met at *Berlin* on June 19, 1878, and the following arrangements were effected :—

Bulgaria was to have an elected prince and its own army, with the Sultan as suzerain ; Eastern Roumelia to be autonomous and to be ruled by a Christian governor chosen by the Sultan with the assent of the powers : Bosnia and Herzgovina were to remain parts of the Turkish empire but to be administered for Turkey by Austria ; Servia, Montenegro and Roumania were to be independent states ; full religious liberty was to be guaranteed by Turkey to her christian subjects.

About the sametime England agreed to defend the Asiatic dominions of Turkey for all future times, in return for which the Sultan handed over Cyprus to English administration at an annual tribute.

Remarks on Beaconsfield's Turkish Policy

The Treaty
of Berlin—
a triumph
for
England.

Beacons-
field's policy

British representatives, Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, returned from Berlin congress declaring that they had brought back "Peace with Honour." Abroad, except perhaps in France, the work of Beaconsfield was universally regarded as securing a great triumph for England ; but to many Englishmen and specially to the Liberal party, the policy appeared as retrograde, ignoring complete change which the industrial and democratic growth in late years had produced. Beaconsfield however repeatedly declared that his intention was not to preserve the Ottoman Empire but to preserve the English interests. The establishment of a Turkish Empire, however limited, accompanied as it were by the possession of Cyprus, fulfilled that object. The interest of England was that Turkey should be on a certain strength, and

therefore the aspirations of the Greeks were passed by unnoticed. They required that Turkey should be decently governed, and for that England made itself responsible. From the selfish point of view, the treaty appeared to be a complete success. It was successful also, in as much as it was produced by a congress before which the whole of the arrangements had been laid. The principles laid down in the treaties of 1856 and 1871, on which England had taken her stand, were therefore upheld. But in thus arriving at a success which seemed to belong to a state of society which had almost passed away, Lord Beaconsfield had pursued methods which had given a severe blow to that confidence between the Ministry and the Parliament, which had become traditional. As Bright said, "Close secrecy and reticence, which at times fell little short of deception, had marked the relation between the Cabinet and the Houses." A series of surprises had brought the nation to the brink of a war. The authority of the Crown had been unduly strained. It was impossible to avoid seeing, without some dread, the great responsibilities which Beaconsfield's policy intended.

Beaconsfield's methods of diplomacy.

India :

Disraeli showed his interest in India in two ways. In 1876 he passed the *Royal Titles Bill* in virtue of which Queen Victoria was proclaimed 'Empress of India' in a great Durbar held at Delhi in 1877. The introduction of the bill roused some opposition in the Parliament, though Disraeli had argued that 'the step would set a seal to the determination of the English people to maintain the Empire' ; and he had to calm the rising passions by promising that the Queen would never use the title in England. The measure however, added to the splendour

Queen Victoria declared Empress of India.

**Second and
Third
Afghan
Wars.**

of the English Crown and at the same time drew closer the tie with India. A little latter Disraeli embarked on the search for a 'Scientific frontier' on the North of India, and this search and the suspicion of the Russian designs brought about two of the Afghan Wars. In the Second Afghan War (1878-79) Great Britain deposed Sher Ali, the Amir, for receiving a Russian envoy and established Yakub Khan as his successor on terms laid down in the *Treaty of Gandamak*, whereby the Amir ceded certain districts and promised to receive a British Resident at Kabul. The Third Afghan War arising out of the murder of the British Resident in 1879 resulted in the establishment of Abdur Rahaman as Amir. Before this a change of Ministry had taken place in England, which involved a temporary abandonment of war-policy in North-West India.

Rise of the Irish Home Rule Movement :

**The Irish
Home Rule
movement
and Parnell.**

The defeat of Fenianism offered opportunity for the rise of a new demand in Ireland, a sort of ill-defined compromise between actual separation and close union with England, which took the name of Home Rule. Since 1871 the Irish Home Rule agitation had been led by moderate men, headed in the Commons by Isaac Butt. He was succeeded by Shaw, likewise moderate. It was not until it fell into the firmer hands of Charles Stewart Parnell in 1877, that it passed out of its sphere of theoretical discussion. Parnell was a Protestant landowner, and an undergraduate of Cambridge. His father was English and mother American. In 1877 when he became elected President of the Home Rule federation in Great Britain, he was 31 years old. Outwardly reserved and cold, he was a man of intense passion. To his followers he was their master and leader,

and not a friend. It is not certain whether he loved Ireland, but it is certain that he hated England. He was never in favour of an armed rebellion, nor did he set his heart in accomplishing a separation from England. His dream for Ireland was of a national parliament in Dublin on terms of a willing partnership with Great Britain. He decided that if by Irish obstruction at Westminster, he could make the English Parliament unworkable, England might out of sheer weariness, give Ireland a separate Parliament. With this object in view he formed a new Irish National Party within the House of Commons and tried obstruction again and again for the purpose of preventing or delaying some particular measure in order to force the House to give full consideration to Irish demand. Outside the Parliament, he also 'set himself to make Ireland ungovernable by encouraging predial agitation.'

Parnell's
obstruction
policy
within Par-
liament.

In 1879, a year of acute distress in Ireland, the Irish National Land League was founded, its object being the reduction of rack-rents, and transfer of ownership of lands to the occupiers. Parnell as President of the League went on addressing meeting after meeting denouncing the landlords, because "landlordism was a British gasrison which barred the way to national independence." He even went to America to enlist the sympathy of the American Irish organisation, 'Clan-na-gael,' and raise funds for the League. In his speeches he was frankly revolutionary and he openly declared that the Irish would not be satisfied till the last link which kept Ireland bound to England was destroyed.

Irish
National
Land
League
founded.

Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign :

The latter years of Beaconsfield's administration were times of marked depression both

in manufacture and agriculture, and this depression of trade and the many vulnerable points of Beaconsfield's policy enabled Gladstone to make out a strong case against the government. He had retired from the Liberal leadership in 1875, but in 1879 he shook off his inaction and hastened to lay before the world his more progressive programme. His principal attack was directed against the foreign policy of the government and of its bearing on the national finances. He betook himself to his new constituency of Midlothian, and there poured out a stream of oratory so copious as almost to embarrass his followers. But his fervid eloquence and the boldness with which while criticising the government, he repudiated all ideas of a sudden change of policy and inspired with a new light the whole Liberal party of the country. The voice of their own leader, who seemed to outdo himself in his energy, roused the party to an enthusiasm which called all before him. His second Midlothian campaign of 1880 was practically a repetition of the first. The phantom of the old world Imperialism vanished at his touch, and the country gave its verdict with no doubtful voice: The Liberal majority at the election was sufficient to counterbalance the Conservatives, and the Home Rulers continued.

Gladstone's new programme and his fervent preaching against Imperialism.

The Liberals successful at the election.

CHAPTER XIII.

Second Gladstone (Liberal) Ministry. (1880-'85).

Prime minister—Gladstone.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Gladstone ;
then Childers.

Home Secretary—Harcourt.

Foreign Secretary—Granville.

Colonial Secretary—Kimberley, then Derby.

Irish Secretary—Forster.

Situation in Ireland :

The presence in the Commons of 60 Home Rulers marked a new stage in the history of the Irish questions. At present the Irish discontent arranged itself under two heads: firstly, revival of sentiment of Irish nationality demanding separation from England; secondly, the grievances of the farmers, chiefly due to the agricultural depression leading to evictions. So Ireland was destined to dominate the thought of Gladstone till his death in 1898, and the simultaneous suppression of outrages and conciliation of feeling formed the basis of his Irish policy.

Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 1880 :

Ireland had long been ruled under the Peace Preservation Act. Gladstone was anxious to bring about some enduring improvement in the state of things. As a Liberal cabinet, the government at first decided to rely on the ordinary law for the maintenance

Compensation for Disturbance Bill, thrown out by the Lords leading to outrages in Ireland.

Boycott system introduced

of peace and order in Ireland. Their first object was to terminate the land agitation by striking at the root of discontent and in bringing forward a measure for the relief of distress. They introduced a provision, which eventually became a separate measure, known as the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. It proposed that an evicted tenant should have the right to compensation, if he could prove that his inability to pay rent was not due to his thriftlessness. The measure however was rejected by the Lords. As a result of the rejection, outrages began to be committed again. Speaking at Ennis, Parnell said that if a tenant took a farm after the eviction of his neighbour 'he must be isolated from his kind as if he were a leper of old.' Captain Boycott suffered from this process, and thus the word 'boycotting' was added to the English language. Parnell made it quite clear that he hoped to disturb all Ireland by an agitation, financed from America till England gave a separate Parliament. "I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work" said he, "if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence." Parnell, Biggar, Dillon and other leaders of the Land League were now put on their trial for conspiracy. But as the jury refused to agree to this abortive attempt of the government, Earl Cowper, the Lord Lieutenant, and Forster, the Irish Secretary, decided to ask for greater powers.

Forster's Coercion Bill, and Irish obstruction :

When Parliament met in 1881, the Queen's speech described the terrible condition of Ireland and the necessity of coercive measures. Immediately after the passing of the address, Mr. Forster moved for leave to introduce his

coercive bill, known as the *Protection of Property Bill*. He showed that 1253 outrages had been committed in 1880, most of them being instigated by the Land League. By it the Lord Lieutenant was empowered to detain and imprison whom he might suspect of treasonable practices or agrarian offences, for a period not to last beyond Sept. 30, 1882. By speeches of inordinate length and by repeated motions for adjournment, the Parnellites succeeded in wasting a good deal of the time of the House. But by making fresh rules for closing a debate, the bill soon went through the remaining stages into the Lords, where it was passed.

Protection of
Property
Act passed,
1881.

Obstruction
by Irish
M. P.'s over-
come

An *Arms Act*, which was denounced by Lord Randolph Churchill, was however passed. It prohibited the possession of arms within any proclaimed districts and gave a power of search.

Arms Act,
1881.

Irish Land Bill, 1881 :

After passing the coercive acts, Gladstone produced his remedial measures, which were to justify coercion. The first measure introduced was an *Irish Land Bill*, based on 'three Fs' viz., fixity of tenure, free sale of tenant's interests and fair rents, by which a land-court was established with power to fix the 'judicial rent' which was to remain in force for fifteen years, during which period the landlord could not evict the tenant so long as he paid his rents. Sale of land was to be easy; the state would advance to the tenant three quarters of the purchase money. For improvement of agriculture the state would also advance money. The bill passed the Commons, though at the time of the third reading Churchill violently attacked it. Some amendments were however carried in the Lords, and Gladstone accepted most of them as they did not affect the principles of his bill, and the measure thus modified became law.

Gladstone's
Irish Land
Bill provid-
ing for a
land-court.

The bill
passed in
amended
form.

Increase in Irish Discontent :

**The Irish
agitation
continued :**

The Land Act satisfied no one, nor had the Protection Act put a stop to agrarian outrages. In May, 1881, Dillon was arrested under the second Act. Parnell made speeches at Dublin condemning the Land Act as a sham, and advised farmers not to use the court until its value had been settled by test cases. Gladstone in a speech at Leeds denounced the Parnellites, and said "the resources of civilisation are not exhausted." Soon after at the suggestion of Forster, Parnell with six of his followers was arrested and taken to Kilmainham prison. The League replied by advising all tenants to pay no rent while their leaders were kept in prison. Forster proclaimed the League as illegal and criminal organisation.

**Parnell
and others
arrested.**

**Land
League
proclaimed.**

Kilmainham Treaty, 1882 :

**Irish
coercion
policy
bitterly
criticised
in Parlia-
ment.**

Many people including Chamberlain grumbled at the rigour of the coercion. Even a motion was made in the Lords for appointing a select committee to enquire about the working of the Land Act in Ireland, though it could not be carried. But the government had to settle about its future Irish policy when the Protection Act would come to an end. Forster admitted that inspite of the Act, agrarian outrages were on the increase. So the government resolved to adopt a conciliatory course. Gladstone accordingly decided to release Parnell and others if they promised to do their best to end boycotting and intimidation. Parnell expressed his willingness to co-operate in the cause of peace, provided the question of arrears of rent was satisfactorily settled, and there was a general agreement that Irish members would co-operate with the Liberal party. Forster refused to agree to this new departure of policy and resigned office, but it was carried out.

**Change in
the policy.**

**Parnell and
promise of
his co-
operation.**

Forster said he had given up office because in his opinion it was injudicious to purchase obedience to the law by concessions to those who broke the law. The arrangements came to be called as *Kilmainham Treaty*. Mr. Balfour said, "the transaction stood on its infamy." Lord Frederick Cavendish succeeded Forster as Irish Secretary.

The Phoenix Park Murder, and Irish Legislation :

But soon after Lord Cavendish set foot in Ireland, he and Mr. Burke, the permanent Under-Secretary were murdered in broad daylight in the Phoenix Park by a band of Fenian desperates, who called themselves 'Invincibles' (May 6, 1882). Mr. Trevelyan took up the post of Irish Secretary. The Irish leaders expressed their detestation of the crime and even Parnell offered to retire from the leadership of the Home Rule Party. This sincere conduct of Parnell effected 'a change in Gladstone's attitude towards him, a change which altered by a gradual process his views upon Irish policy.' But a return to coercion was inevitable at the moment.

Phoenix
Park
murders
by the 'In-
vincibles.'

A stringent *Crimes Bill* was passed which created a special tribunal of three judges to preside over trials of treason, murder and so on in Ireland, in cases where the juries were not expected to be impartial ; they were to sit without juries, but their judgments were to be unanimous, and there was a right of appeal from them to the court for crown cases reserved. It authorised the police to make searches whenever necessary, and empowered the Lord-Lieutenant to impose punitive police and to levy compensations for murder and maiming. Parnell did not violently oppose the bill, though his followers did. At the same time, an *Arrears*

Prevention
of Crimes
Bill passed.

**Arrears
Act, 1882.**

Bill based on the Kilmainham treaty was passed which let tenants off from all arrear rents, provided that they had paid up the rents for Nov., 1880 to Nov., 1881, in tenancies under £30 a year. The state would contribute a sum not exceeding one year's rent. Lord Salisbury called the bill an "act of simple robbery." Parnell remained moderate, but outrages continued. On Oct. 17, 1882, the Irish National League was founded by Parnell and others with Home Rule as its principal object.

**Irish
National
League
founded.**

Early in 1883, Phoenix Park murderers were discovered, tried and executed on the evidence of James Carey, one of their members who had turned informer.

The Dynamite Conspiracy :

**The out-
rages by
Clan-na-gael**

The 'Clan-na-gael' in order to retaliate on the English community for the passing of the Crimes Act, spent £200,000 between 1881 to 1884, in arranging explosions on London Bridge, at the Tower, and in the Parliament. Not one victim did they get and the only result was that Harcourt's *Explosive Bill* was passed.

Parnell and the Defeat of the Government :

**Parnell
accused
of conniv-
ing at
murders
and out-
rages.**

In 1883, Forster accused Parnell in Parliament of presiding over an organisation that tacitly encouraged murder. Parnell merely denied the jurisdiction of the House and did not answer the charge. In 1884 and '85, the Opposition and the Parnellites were steadily voting together against the government and thence grew up a belief, possibly justified, that the Conservatives if they got into power, could not renew the Coercion Bill. In June, 1885, Gladstone's government was defeated on the budget and resigned office. Cries of coercion from the Irish benches showed that the Irish had largely helped to turn the government out.

**Govt.
defeated by
Parnellites
and
Conserva-
tives.**

Parnell had triumphed. He had turned Forster out of office previously ; he now turns Spencer out of Irish viceroyalty.

Death of Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield :

Lord Beaconsfield died on April 19, 1881. This was no doubt a national calamity, as his sound statesmanship, his firm course of foreign policy, his 'one thought of the honour and glory of the country,' and his faithful attachment to the Crown had left a wide mark in the history of the English nation. The Queen took his loss as a personal bereavement too, and actually wrote to one of her friends saying 'my dear valued and devoted friend and counsellor whose loss is so great to the country and to me'.

Death of Disraeli—a national calamity.

His personal character raised him in the general esteem even of his political opponents. He was respected for his courage, his penetrating judgment, his dignified firmness ; everybody felt there was "something large and genuine something that touched the nobler chords of public life." Though in his later years he developed a policy of Imperialism, he had been able to raise the British prestige and gratify patriotic sentiment by his vigorous and self-assertive foreign policy. "He lived to be an idol, and died to become a tradition for almost half his countrymen."

Estimate of Disraeli.

In contrasting him with his great political opponent Gladstone, it may be said that both were great parliamentarians and party-men ; circumstances and accident made each, in some respects, 'better fitted to take command of the opposing host.' Disraeli with his keen sympathy for the masses (as his novels show) could enter into the growing spirit of those democratic movements and new social forces which were giving a new lease of life to the English people, and was thus better fitted for the leadership of a progressive party. He thus came to be the

Disraeli and Gladstone contrasted.

leader of the Conservatives, with the idea of reconciling Toryism and democracy on the basis of maintaining national institutions combined with social progress. Gladstone, on the other hand, with his ecclesiastical and forensic temper, had a profound respect for the formalism of the past and could not quite shake off the traces of Conservatism even in his career as a Liberal leader. They belonged to two different schools of politics; while "Disraeli brought back to English politics the spirit of Romance, Gladstone vindicated the claims of Righteousness." Gladstone, the political legatee of Peel, like him, could not take far views of questions that were not ripe for settlement, but was at his best to solve some complicated problem of legislation or finance. Disraeli, on the other hand, wanted to maintain the unique position of England among the nations and defended his policy by references to the views of Chatham and Bolingbroke whom, in their character of reformers, he claimed as leaders of the Tory party. While Gladstone's government identified itself with economical reforms and abolition of privileges and political inequality, Disraeli's main interest was in a vigorous foreign policy and the growth of imperialist idea. In his zeal for the prosecution of a successful foreign policy, Disraeli sometimes misunderstood the English people; while in his ardent desire for the amelioration of the condition of people, Gladstone occasionally forgot the British Empire. Disraeli was a Jew and the champion of moderate Evangelical Churchmen, but Gladstone was a High Churchman and leader of the Non-conformists. As an orator Disraeli was inferior to Gladstone, but as a political novelist he was highly successful.

Foreign Policy :

It was the reaction against the too exclusive attention which Beaconsfield had given to

the extension of British prestige that had been the cause of the fall of his government. Gladstone had spoken so strongly against Beaconsfield's policy, that he was almost as much in conscience as in inclination ready to undo his act wherever possible. But some measures of continuity are absolutely necessary in transacting business in foreign countries, and Gladstone could only act within the limits of this restriction. He wanted to avoid all avoidable foreign complications, because a spirited foreign policy required sacrifices and expenditure which ill-suited his desire for economy at home.

Gladstone anxious to undo the foreign policy of Beaconsfield.

Afghanisthan :

Here alone was any entire change of policy visible. Gladstone decided not to interfere any further in Afghanisthan. After some difficulty, some disasters, and some stirring deeds of arms, it was found possible to withdraw the English troops, to allow the authority of the Amir Abdur Rahaman to be established and to rely on the friendship of an independent state rather than on the immediate exercise of the English authority for security against the advance of encroaching powers.

The Amir recognised as independent ruler.

Turkey :

Gladstone emphasised his hostility with the Turks by inducing the great powers to bring armed pressure to bear upon them and to compel them to give up Dulcigno to the Montenegrins as well as to give an improved frontier to the Greeks.

The Dulcigno incident.

Transvaal :

When in opposition, Gladstone and his friends had loudly raised their voices against the annexation of Transvaal. Yet upon their

The Boer
rebellion
in the
Transvaal.

Battle of
the Majuba
Hill, 1881.

Transvaal
question
settled.

accession to the office, no change was visible. The Boers of Transvaal, disappointed to find that the new ministry did not restore their independence, proclaimed an independent republic and invaded Natal towards the close of 1880. British troops available for service proved unequal to the task of dislodging them. After suffering several reverses the British commander, Sir George Colley, was killed and a portion of British troops was cut to pieces at *Majuba Hill* in 1881. The public opinion in England became excited at the news, and the government at first made feverish preparations for retrieving the disaster. Gladstone was however convinced by the time that the Boers had a right on their side and as such he suggested that to punish the Boers merely in revenge for Majuba would be "blood-guiltiness," and negotiations being opened peace was made with the Boers recognising the complete internal self-government of Transvaal state and the suzerainty of the Queen over it. At home a deep indignation arose against the attitude of the government. Lord Cairns arraigned the government in the House of Lords for retreating from one position after another. Sir Michael Hicks Beach moved a vote of censure in the Commons against which Gladstone protested. In 1884, a convention was concluded in London in which no mention was made of the Queen's suzerainty over what was now again formally styled the South African Republic.

Egypt and Soudan :

The Conservative government had left its successor a difficult problem in Egypt. The great financial interest at stake had induced the European Powers to interfere. The Khedive Ismail Pasha's government was oppressive, and to crown all he borrowed wrecklessly from European financiers. The report of Stephen

Cave's mission of 1875 showed that owing to bad government the country would go bankrupt and the foreign land-holders would lose their money. Mixed tribunals were appointed in 1876, which put Egyptian finances under some international scrutiny. An international public debt office was established under British and French controllers of finances. The Egyptian government opposed them and thwarted their action. In 1878 the Powers did away with these officials and the Egyptian government became a mixed one under Nuber Pasha, Rivers Wilson, and M. de Blignieres. Ismail set to work to thwart them also, and forced Nuber Pasha to resign by inflaming the army against him. In 1879 the Powers led by Germany appealed to the Sultan, who deposed Ismail in favour of his son Tewfik, who was called upon to govern under the joint control of England and France. This secured the interests of the bond-holders, but put Egypt in a 'strait waistcoat' by the law of liquidations which simplified the financial obligations of Egypt. An annual fixed rate of interest was to be paid, which Egypt could manage if under good government.

Financial
chaos in
Egypt and
mixed
tribunal.

A mixed
ministry
established.

Dual
control of
England
and France,
1879.

Gladstone at first carefully maintained the dual control and during the first month of the new ministry, the two countries worked hand in hand with considerable success; but the interference of foreigners was most distasteful to many Egyptians, specially to the official class. In 1881 Arabi Pasha, an officer in the Egyptian army put himself at the head of the movement against the dual control and raised the cry of 'Egypt for the Egyptians.' He for a time forced on the Khedive an administration of his own and became the real master of the government. He could not however control the mob and armed rioting broke out in Alexandria as the result of which a large number of Europeans were killed. As France refused to join

Egyptian
rising
under
Arabi
Pasha,
1881.

Arabi's
overthrow.

the war of restoring order, Great Britain undertook the task by herself. In 1882, British fleet bombarded Alexandria, and later a British army completely defeated Arabi Pasha at *Tel-el-kibir*, and restored Tewfik's authority.

British
administra-
tion over
Egypt.

The dual control was abolished by Dufferin, who was sent out on a special mission to Cairo... Englishmen came out from England and India to organise the army, public works, police and justice. Gladstone sincerely wanted to leave Egypt as soon as possible. Finally Major Baring returned to Egypt in 1883 as British Agent-General. The original idea of this post, according to Dufferin was that it should be like a Resident in a Protected State in India. Baring, who became Lord Cromer, soon transformed the post into something greater, though he never, in name, became more than the adviser of Khedive on behalf of England.

The Soudan
and the
Mahdi.

But meanwhile a new danger had appeared in Soudan. Mahomed Ahmed had proclaimed himself the 'Mahdi' or the 'Guide' promised by the prophet Mahomed, who was to sweep away the rule of the unbelievers and make the 'faithful' masters of the earth. Hardly the British had established in Cairo, it happened that the Mahdi was threatening to overwhelm the Egyptian garrisons and to conquer Khartoum. According to Gladstone's theory, the actions of the Egyptians in Soudan was no concern of the British government, and so when a miserably inadequate force under General Hicks, an Englishman in the Egyptian service, was sent by the Egyptian government to Soudan no remonstrance was made. Hicks's force was cut to pieces (Nov. 1883) and the Mahdis pressed on more heavily than ever. This danger broke down the theory of non-intervention. "Rescue and retire" was the policy of the Prime minister, and in 1884, British government sent Charles Gordon, who had formerly served with

conspicuous success in Soudan under the Egyptian government, to withdraw Egyptian troops in Soudan. No troops however were sent with Gordon. Throughout the year 1884, the conduct of the ministry was marked by irresolution and weakness. Gordon was shut up in Khartoum by Mahdi's Dervishes.

Gordon's mission—a failure.

Public opinion in England had been clamouring for the relief of Gordon. The cabinet delayed and finally sent Lord Wolseley with 10,000 pick of the British troops which arrived too late. They had to fight two desparate battles at *Abu Klea*, and *Abu Kru* or *Gubat*, after which part of the force fought its way up to the upper Nile, only to find that *Khartoum* had fallen and Gordon had been killed two days before (January, 26, 1885).

Fall of Khartum : Gordon killed.

England was extremely angry with the government when the news of the fall of Khartoum had reached ; and even the Queen gave utterance to her feelings of pain, in a letter to Gordon's sister saying, that she 'keenly felt the stain left upon England by General Gordon's cruel but heroic fate.' A vote of censure in the Commons was defeated by only 14 votes. The cabinet decided to 'smash the Mahdi' and advance was made to Suakim. Then in April 1885, the situation on the Afghan frontier became threatening and Gladstone decided, despite the Queen's displeasure, 'to abandon Soudan altogether, and thus the country was for few years more left to the anarchy and fanatical oppression, which the British intervention had merely increased.

Indignation in England.

Expedition for smashing the Mahdi withdrawn.

Afghan Frontier Question :

Simultaneously with their embroilment in Africa, Gladstone's government found itself on the brink of war with Russia. In 1884, Russian troops appeared on the borders of Afghanistan

War with
Russia
avoided.

and it became necessary to have a clear understanding as to the exact frontiers. But, as the Russians seemed to proceed on the principle of seizing any place they wished for and declaring that it was on their side of the frontier, considerable friction followed. Eventually, Britain and Russia were brought to the verge of war by a Russian attack on an Afghan force at *Panjdeh*. Matters however were presently arranged, chiefly granting all Russian demands; and the frontiers so settled were guaranteed by the British government to the Amir.

Third Reform Bill, 1884-85 :

Gladstone's
Franchise
Bill 1884.

Though the parliamentary sessions of 1880-83 had witnessed the passing of many minor legislations, e.g. Employer's Liability bill, Married Women's Property bill, Settled Lands bill, Agricultural Holdings bill, Bankruptcy bill, Corrupt Practices bill &c., yet Irish legislation and the strong course of foreign policy had hitherto kept confined the attention of the ministry. It was not till 1884 that Gladstone was able to bring in his Franchise Bill. For sometime, there had been growing up a feeling of further parliamentary reform. The spread of education since 1870, had removed the chief objection against the extension of franchise to agricultural labourers, and of all the measures which had constituted the programme of the Liberal party at the general election of 1880, the extension of the franchise was the most important. Accordingly in Feb. 1884, Gladstone introduced his *Franchise Bill*. For the English boroughs, a new franchise viz. the service-franchise, introduced to include those who were prevented by their occupation from living in the house of their own, was to be created. With regard to the counties, the £50 landowner's franchise was to be abolished, and

the qualification of a £12 rateable value of 1867 to be reduced to £10 annual value, and the service, lodger, and house-hold franchises of the boroughs were to be extended to them. The bill was to be applied not only in England but in Scotland and Ireland too. The principle of the bill as applied to England and Scotland was accepted by all the political parties, but there was much difference of opinion as to the advisability of extending it to Ireland. It was however decided to do so. The Lords declined to pass the bill without the redistribution of seats, which was the natural corollary of such a measure. At this, there was considerable agitation in the country, many meetings being held to condemn or approve the action of the peers. Opinion being thus divided, Gladstone decided to accept the bill of the peers and the Redistribution Bill having been drafted by the leaders of both the parties in consultation, Franchise Bill was passed at the close of 1884, and the *Redistribution Bill* in June, 1885. By the latter measure boroughs with less than fifteen thousand inhabitants were disfranchised and towns with less than fifty thousand were to send one member only. It thus introduced 'one member system' which consisted in breaking up cities, boroughs and counties alike into electoral areas, each area returning a single member. But London and towns of between 50,000 and 165,000 were allowed to send two members.

Division
of opinion
on the
Franchise
Bill.

Redistribu-
tion Bill,
1885.

These two measures of civil reform constituting together the Third Reform Act marked another step forward along the path of democracy, which was begun by the Reform Act of 1832. It placed the rural and borough voters on the same footing and extended the franchise to agricultural labourers. The bill of 1832 had added half a million of voters, that of 1867 nearly a million, and that of 1885 added altogether two millions of voters.

Results of
the Third
Reform Act.

Constitutional Value of the Upper House :

• The House
of Lords
whether
necessary ?

The opposition of the Lords to the Franchise Bill had threatened for a time to produce a most formidable dislocation in the quiet working of the constitution. The action of the peers had forced upon the public minds great doubts as to the constitutional value of the Upper House. It had become a commonplace with the Radicals to stigmatise the House of Lords as a mere party-instrument, unrepresentative in character with obvious legislative incapacity of many of its members. The recognition of the inherent weakness of the Upper House in a democracy had induced Lord Rosebery to bring in a motion recommending the Lords to carry out reforms of their House from within. His motion was summarily rejected, but his action gave strength to the general feeling, and the 'mending or ending of the Upper House' a phrase invented by John Morley—became from this time a part of the advanced Liberal creed.

Case of Mr. Bradlaugh :

Bradlaugh's
refusal to
take the
oath of
allegiance.

In 1880, Charles[†] Bradlaugh, an atheist lecturer was elected from Northampton as a member of the House of Commons. He, instead of taking the oath of allegiance which ended with the words 'so help me God,' wanted to make an affirmation. The Commons, after a warm debate, excluded him from taking his seat, on the ground that having no religious belief he could not be allowed to affirm or take the oath. The little band of Tories who showed great activity in leading the conservative opposition on this occasion soon became^{*} known as the *Fourth Party (subsequently called the Tory

* The three other Parties in the Commons at the time were the Liberals, the Conservatives, and the Irish Nationalists.

Democrats) and consisted of Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Mr. Gorst, and Mr. A. J. Balfour. Gladstone was against this decision of the House, and early in 1883 he moved a resolution which allowed an affirmation to be substituted for an oath, subject to any statutory liability. But owing to personal prejudice against Bradlaugh, the government was defeated by 3 votes. Bradlaugh, however, was re-elected for Northampton at the general election of Dec. 1885, and at the opening of the Parliament in Jan. 1886, the Speaker refused the motion to be made restraining him from taking the oath. He accordingly took the oath and his seat in the House, and voted till his death in 1891, and the difficulty was over. His case thus decided that it was unconstitutional for the House of Commons to prevent a duly elected representative from performing his duties as such by refusing him seat in the House.

The Fourth Party.

Bradlaugh permitted to sit as M.P. 1886.

Defeat of the Ministry :

The Ministry had been discredited by its unsuccessfulness in Ireland, by the Soudan disaster, and by the feeling that the national honour was not well kept up ; but its real source of weakness lay in the divisions within the party itself, specially on the Irish question. One section of the Liberals considered that some sort of coercion should under all circumstances be maintained, while another section objected to all exceptional legislations and held that the large measure to facilitate land-purchase was the true means of pacifying the country. A third section thought that the remedy lay in the political reforms and it was in this direction also that Parnell and his friends were inclined to move. At last the government was able to extricate itself from the enviable position, when

Division among the Liberals on the Irish question.

the Conservatives carried an amendment against the budget presented by Childers. Gladstone at once resigned. (June 12, 1885.)

Estimate of Gladstone's Second Administration :

Failure in
Irish and
Foreign
policy.

Success
in domestic
policy.

Inability
to adopt
to changes
in Liberal
politics.

His second administration marks a sad and unfavourable contrast to the first one. During his first Ministry, he carried out vast measures of beneficent reforms in Ireland, while during his second tenure of office there was all confusion and disorder, which were largely increased by uncertain, fluctuating and divided policy of the cabinet. His foreign policy, as we have already seen, during his second term of office, was rather a failure. In domestic legislations only, he was successful and by them 'he had set the crown and seal upon the era of middle-class Liberalism.' Moreover, during his first term, he had the full support of his party which on the whole, represented the dominant force in politics at the time ; but during his second tenure, new problems did arise as Liberalism was abandoning its mid-century ideals and new influences were at work owing to the enlargement of the franchise, and Gladstone, conservative in intellect and opportunist in temperament, could not successfully adapt himself to the change.

CHAPTER XIV.

First Salisbury (Conservative) Ministry, (July, 1885,—January 1886).

Prime Minister and } —Salisbury
Foreign Secretary }
Chancellor of Exchequer—Sir Michael Hicks Beach.
Home Secretary—Cross
Colonial Secretary—Stanley
Irish Secretary—Smith
Secretary for India—Churchill

Character of the Ministry :

The Ministry like so many other Conservative ministries of the century was merely a stop-gap one, lacking the parliamentary majority. The Liberal majority, however, through the intervention of the Queen, agreed to provide Salisbury the necessary supplies and not to withhold ways and means till the general election which was shortly due. Hence this Ministry was called the "government of caretakers." Its seven month's tenure of office was mainly notable for the passing of the *Australian Federation Act* authorising the formation of a federal council for Australia, and encouraging peasant-proprietorship in Ireland by *Ashbourne Act* which facilitated the purchase of lands by occupying tenants. The Ministry attempted to keep order in Ireland by ordinary law. In foreign affairs, Salisbury frankly took over the work of predecessors and pursued it with marked success on the same lines. Negotiating directly with the Russian Ministry he closed the

vexed question in Afghanistan. Aided by some good fortune in the death of the Mahdi, he found himself able to withdraw from Soudan and to continue the friendly occupation of Egypt.

General Election of 1885 :

•Position of
Parties.

General Election towards the close of the year returned a House of Commons in which the Liberals had exactly half the total number of seats [335] ; while the Irish Home Rulers had 86 seats. The Home Rulers could turn the balance, and they chose to turn it against Salisbury who had threatened to suppress the Irish National League.

Fall of the Ministry, and the Liberal Split :

Salisbury's
cabinet and
Home Rule
question.

Gladstone had all along encouraged popular aspirations. During his second administration, he had thought of extending the local government to Ireland with an elective central board, and now he made up his mind to grant a separate legislature and executive to Ireland. His first idea was that the Irish Home Rule question should not 'fall into the lines of party conflict.' But the Salisbury cabinet declined to communicate its views on the subject.

Gladstone's
conversion
to Home
Rule.

Hardly were the results of the Election known when the public became astonished by the sudden announcement in the newspapers, the 'Standard' and the 'Leeds Mercury', that Gladstone has become a convert to the Home Rule, and though the accuracy of the story was indignantly denied by the Liberal leaders, it was found before long to be true. He wrote to Lord Hartington about Ireland, that "a statutory basis seems to me better and safer than a revival of Grattan's Parliament." Meanwhile the amount of lawlessness in Ireland led the Salisbury Ministry to announce that, bill should

be brought in to suppress the National League and the protection of order in Ireland. Indignant at this and delighted with Gladstone's rumoured conversion, the Home Rulers now voted with the Liberals and in the debate on the Queen's speech the government was defeated on an amendment, and the Ministry resigned (January 28, 1886). Defeat of Salisbury's government.

Up to this time it had not been authoritatively stated that the rumour about Gladstone was true. But so strong a suspicion of its truth existed, that Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen were omitted from the government. Mr. Chamberlain took office under him with much misgiving. Gladstone's other chief colleagues were Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, Lord Spencer, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and John Morley. Gladstone's construction of Cabinet.

Having accepted the principle of Home Rule, Gladstone laid his scheme before the cabinet. Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Trevelyan and some other members of the government at once resigned. The result was a division in the old Liberal party, the majority of whom followed Gladstone in accepting Home Rule. But the considerable minority headed by Lord Hartington, Mr. John Bright, Mr. John Goschen, and Mr. Chamberlain preferred to the old Liberal policy of regarding the maintenance of the legislative union as a fundamental principle. The minority adopted the name of Liberal-Unionists, to distinguish them at once from the Conservatives and from the followers of Gladstone. Home Rule and the Liberal split.

Unionists and the Separatists.

CHAPTER XV.

Third Gladstone (Liberal) Ministry. (February, 1886,—August, 1886.)

Prime Minister—Gladstone.
Chancellor of Exchequer—Harcourt.
Home Secretary—Childers
Foreign Secretary—Rosebery
Colonial Secretary—Granville
Irish Secretary—John Morley.

Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill, and Fall of the Ministry :

Provisions
of the First
Home Rule
Bill of 1886.

On April 8, 1886 Gladstone brought forward his first Irish Home Rule Bill whereby he wanted "to secure at once the social peace, the fame, the power, and the permanence of the Empire." Its chief provisions were:—

(a) an Irish Parliament sitting at Dublin was to deal exclusively with Irish subjects ; it was to consist of two orders, one representing the house-holders, the other the property-classes, paying a rent not less than £25 annually ; Irish peers were no longer to have seats in the imperial Parliament at Westminster ;

(b) questions relating to the Crown, Army, Navy, foreign and colonial affairs were to be withdrawn from its province ;

(c) with the exception of so much of the Customs and Excise as was necessary to meet its liability to England, the taxation was to be placed in its hands, its share of the Imperial burdens being settled at one-fifteenth ;

(d) securities were given for the Protestant minority and the religious difficulty was met by

an enactment forbidding the establishment or endowment of any religious body ;

(e) the Irish Legislature was to have control over the Executive, which was still to be represented by a Viceroy assisted by a Privy Council.

After a few days, Gladstone introduced a *Land Purchase Bill*. By it £50,000,000 was to be advanced to the new Irish government to carry on the purchases begun under the Ashbourne Act.

In spite of Gladstone's appeal, his bill was severely criticised even by those who accepted the principle of Home Rule. The special points of attack were the exclusion of Irish members from the Imperial Parliament, which seemed not only to lead to separation but to violate the constitutional principle, that those who paid taxes should have a voice in the expenditure. Radicals disliked his 'two orders.' Irish Protestants and anti-Home-Rulers cried out that their rights were not sufficiently secured. The Roman Catholics wanted to know who was to look after their religious interests if Ireland had no voice in the Imperial Parliament. Chamberlain justified his retirement from the cabinet, insisting upon the 'injustice and impracticability of the scheme.' Hartington declared that "the bill would inevitably breed dissension and might conceivably lead to civil war." Churchill pointed out some inconsistencies of the bill. The Queen also was uncompromisingly opposed to the bill. To her, a change in the principle of Irish Government would be altogether repugnant. She even considered that granting Home Rule to Ireland would amount to a positive breach of the Coronation Oath to maintain the union of England with Ireland.

Opposition
to Glad-
stone's
Home
Rule Bill.

The Land Purchase bill was also attacked, chiefly on the ground that security for the repayment of so large a sum seemed insufficient.

Gladstone
willing
to make
alterations,

Chamberlain
join the
Liberal
Unionists,

Bright
decline his
support.

The Bill
thrown out.

General
Election
and fall of
Gladstone's
government.

In face of these objections, Gladstone offered to make great modifications, if only the principle of the bill was adopted. The second reading of the bill came on May 10, 1886. Gladstone after prolonging the debate for nearly a month, in order to win votes by an undertaking to withdraw the bill after second reading and to introduce another in a modified form so that it might be acceptable to the Liberals, closed it on June 8, with a masterpiece of oratory. But at a meeting held previously at Devonshire House on May 14, under the presidency of Hartington and attended by Chamberlain and many others of the Liberal party, it had been decided to vote against the second reading, in spite of the promise of the government to withdraw the bill and to bring it in an amended form. Bright also wrote to Gladstone privately, "I cannot consent to a measure which is so offensive to the whole Protestant population of Ireland, and to the whole sentiment of the province of Ulster, so far as its loyal and protestant people are concerned. I cannot agree to exclude them from the protection of the Imperial Parliament." With Bright adverse, the position of the Premier was really hopeless. The bill was thrown out by a majority of 30, 93 Liberals voting in the majority.

Gladstone at once appealed to the country. The Election took place amidst great excitement and resulted in the defeat of Gladstone who came back to Westminster with only 191 of his followings (i.e. the Gladstonian Liberals) and 78 Liberal-Unionists, while the Irish Home-Rulers (i.e. the Parnellites) numbered 85 and Conservatives 316. So clear was the voice of the election, that Mr. Gladstone at once resigned and Salisbury again undertook the administration.

CHAPTER XVI.

Second Salisbury (Unionist) Ministry. (1886-1892).

Prime Minister and
Foreign Secretary } —Salisbury
Chancellor of Exchequer—Churchill ;
then Goschen.
Home Secretary—Matthews
Colonial Secretary—Stanhope ; then
Holland.
Irish Secretary—Hicks-Beach ; then
Balfour.
Secretary for India—Smith ; then
Stanhope.

Construction of the Cabinet :

The conduct of the Liberal-Unionists relieved Salisbury from all difficulty in forming a Ministry. So completely was the balance of party in their hands, that he seems at first to have had some intention of forming a coalition Ministry, united on the one point of opposition to the Home Rule. But the Liberal-Unionists declined for the present to break loose from their own party-ties or to surrender all hopes of a reconciliation of the party. They proposed to stand aloof, giving a general support to the government. Salisbury therefore formed a Ministry consisting entirely of the Conservative wing of the Unionist majority. Lord Randolph Churchill was Chancellor of Exchequer for some months and after his withdrawal Mr. Goschen, a Liberal-Unionist accepted the post. Lord

Position of
Parties—
Liberal-
Unionists
holding the
the balance

Salisbury then took over charge of foreign affairs and his nephew Mr. A. J. Balfour became Chief Secretary for Scotland, though he was afterwards made the Irish Secretary. The Ministry thus modified lasted for six years.

The Tory Democrats and Lord Randolph Churchill :

Randolph Churchill, leader of the Tory Democrats.

It was impossible for Lord Salisbury to entirely disregard the opinion of the allies to whom he owed his position. Indeed ever since the Reform Bill of 1867 the movement of the national thoughts on many subjects had been so markedly in a liberal direction that its recognition had become necessary. A party—the Fourth Party,—not very well-defined but of growing importance, which was roughly spoken of as ‘Tory Democrats’ had come into existence since the second Gladstonian administration (*Vide p. 142*), and had now found a leader in Lord Churchill. On many points it was difficult to distinguish his views from those of an advanced Liberal. He had constantly urged the necessity of making reforms in full touch with the popular feelings. Thus on Oct. 2, 1886 his speech at Dartford foreshadowing a reform of Parliamentary procedure, remodelling of local government and local taxation &c. really offended the Conservatives. But he had so far persuaded Salisbury to adopt his views, that to the surprise of all, he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and entrusted with the leadership of the Commons.

Churchill's Resignation, and the Round-table Conference :

Cause of Churchill's disagreement and resignation.

On Dec. 23, 1886, Lord Churchill suddenly resigned. The avowed cause of his resignation was his inability to agree in the large expenditure, which his colleagues were contemplating

for the army and the navy ; but probably there were other points of difference. He genuinely sympathised with the policy of 'peace, retrenchment and reform', while he did not like 'bloated armaments' or a 'spirited foreign policy' on the lines of Disraeli.

Lord Randolph's resignation seemed to offer an opportunity for the reconstitution of the Liberal party. For a few weeks it looked that his resignation would heal the breach between the Gladstonian Liberals and the Unionist Radicals. The idea was suggested by Sir William Harcourt and was at once accepted, that a small number of representatives of the various sections should meet and find if possible some line of policy on which they could all agree. Hence five members of the old Liberal cabinet of 1886, *viz.*, Chamberlain, Trevelyan, Harcourt, Morley, and Herschell met in conference known as the Round Table Conference (Jan. 13 to Feb. 25, 1887). Things went on smoothly enough and a re-union of the Liberals seemed to be in sight. Unfortunately on the very day the provisional result of the conference was submitted to Gladstone (who had not yet joined it). An article published by Mr. Chamberlain in the 'Baptist' newspaper, stating that British legislation was being delayed by Irish obstruction, gave great offence to the Gladstonians and the conference ended, and with it all hopes of a re-union of the Liberals. Sir George Trevelyan, an Unionist, however announced his conversion to Home Rule.

Round-table
Conference
for
reorganising
the Liberals,
ending in
failure.

Growth of New Imperialism :

At the close of 1886, there appeared a marked change in the popular feeling towards the Crown. The national mind became steadily filled with a strong Imperialist sentiment. The relationship between England and her colonies

Causes of
the growth
of Imperial-
ist senti-
ment.

and India became closer, and the Crown came to be regarded as the symbol of the unity of the whole British Empire. This was partly due to the increased speed in the means of locomotion, e.g., steamships, submarine telegraphs &c., which served as distance-lessening agencies between England and her colonies and India ; partly to the unqualified acceptance by England of the principle of colonial self-government. Thus was brought forth a new sense of kinship on the part of England and one of filial affection in respect of the colonies : and the Queen slowly though unconsciously came to be the pivot of the great Imperialist movement. This imperialistic tendency found its first expression in the Jubilee celebration in June 1887 (*Vide p. 159*).

Irish Affairs :

Irish Policy, and the Plan of Campaign :

Situation
in Ireland.

The defeat of the Home Rule did not affect the nationalist majority in Ireland, and the country was in a state of agitation and agricultural distress. According to the opinion of Churchill, as Mr. Gladstone had now become the leader of the Nationalist Party in Ireland, it might be naturally excepted that the Home Rule movement would go on constitutional lines, and the existing law would be able to cope with the Irish situation. The policy of the cabinet was not to give any special privilege to Ireland but "to ensure as far as possible equality, similarity, and simultaneity of treatment in the development of a genuine, popular system of government in all the four countries of the United Kingdom."

Waiting
attitude of
Salisbury
cabinet.

Rejection of
Tenants'
Relief Bill.

Parnell made a definite attempt to move the government by introducing a *Tenant's Relief Bill*, by which it was proposed that eviction should be stayed on payment of half rent

and half arrears. The bill was, as a matter of course, rejected by the Commons by 95 votes (Sept. 1886), and the Nationalists met the rejection by a new form of the former 'no-rent' manifesto. They started, what came to be known as, the "Plan of Campaign," the nature of which was indicated in the 'United Ireland,' the organ of the National League, on Oct. 21, 1886. The "Plan" was ingenious; the tenants were to organise themselves and to agree upon the amount of rent which they could fairly afford to pay; these they were to offer to the landlords and if they refused, to pay it over to a committee which was to employ it in carrying on the struggle with the landlords. So dangerous a movement at once forced the Irish question to the front and towards the close of the year the government proclaimed the 'Plan' as illegal.

The 'Plan of Campaign' and 'no-rent' agitation in Ireland.

The 'Plan' declared illegal.

Irish Crimes Act :

The increase of lawlessness in Ireland led the new Chief Secretary, Arthur Balfour, to introduce a new coercion bill in 1887, known as *Irish Crimes Bill*. It proposed to introduce a permanent alteration in the criminal procedure of the country. One principal source of the Irish disturbances was the existence of combinations which set the ordinary law at defiance. The aim of the act was to restrain these combinations by placing extraordinary powers in the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant.

Object of the Irish Crimes Bill.

The first reading of the bill roused the liveliest opposition; during the second reading there appeared in the 'Times' what purported to be a facsimile of a letter of Parnell which seemed to prove that he had countenanced the Phoenix Park murder. Parnell declared the letter to be "a villainous and bare-faced forgery"; but the immediate effect of its publication in the 'Times' was to weaken the opposi-

The charges of the Times against Parnell.

The Crimes Bill passed. tion to the Crimes Bill, and it was finally passed by a large majority only after a new method of procedure known as the "guillotine"—whereby clauses of a government measure remaining undisposed of after a fixed period of its discussion are put without amendment or debate—was put into operation.

Irish Land Act :

The Land Act, and its effects on Irish agitation.

Hand in hand with the Crimes Act was passed a remedial measure known as the *Land Act* (1887). By the new act leaseholders, who had been excluded in 1881, were admitted to its benefits and judicial rents fixed before 1886 were to be revised, in accordance with the change in the price of agricultural produce. By the relief it gave to overrented tenants, the bill did much to neutralise the 'Plan of Campaign' agitation ; but peace was not immediately restored and a bitter conflict took place between Mr. Balfour and the Irish leaders, many of whom were convicted of conspiracy, and sent to prison. Eighteen counties were proclaimed. The National League was declared a dangerous association, and its meetings were suppressed. On the occasion of the trial of one of the prosecuted, Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., the police came into collision with the people at Mitchelstown and few men were killed which caused a great excitement and the Coroner's jury brought in a verdict of murder against six policemen but it was set aside by the Queen's Bench, Dublin. The agitation in Ireland was however strengthened by numerous meetings held in England by the Gladstonian Liberals denouncing the coercive Irish policy of the government, and the struggle continued in Ireland throughout the year 1888. In that year a blow was received by the Nationalist party when the Pope was instigated to interfere and

issue a decree denouncing the 'Plan of Campaign' and the boycott as being against natural justice and Christian charity. The Nationalist leaders however repudiated the "right of the Pope to interfere with the Irish people in the management of their political affairs," and the Pope modified his attitude altogether.

Triumph and Disgrace of Parnell :

On July 2, 1888, Mr. Hugh O'Donnell brought an action of libel against the proprietor of the 'Times', thinking himself to be one of the persons included in the charges brought by it against the Parnellites. The action failed ; but in the course of the trial, further letters were produced by the counsel for the 'Times' alleged to have been written by Parnell, countenancing the Phoenix Park murder. Parnell demanded a select committee to enquire into the matter. The Government rejected the demand, but appointed instead a commission of three judges to enquire into the whole question of the charges brought against the Irish members in the 'Times' article. In course of the enquiry, there appeared in the witness-box a man named Pigot, an Irish journalist, to whom Parnell's letters had been traced. A severe cross-examination was followed by his confession that the letters were forgeries ; and before the examination was concluded he absconded to Madrid where he committed suicide to avoid arrest. As far as Parnell was concerned the vindication was completed and the prosecution was obliged to confess the forgery (1889). Parnell recovered heavy damages from the 'Times' for an action of libel, and when he entered the House he was cheered. Gladstone became more hopeful and entered into an understanding with him regarding the outlines of the next Home Rule Bill.

Parnell
commission
(1888-89)
declaring
the letters
of Parnell
as forgeries.

Parnell
recovers
damages
from the
'Times'.

But in Dec., 1889, occurred an event which affected primarily the private character of Par-

nell, and which in its consequences, not only divided the Irish party, but even for the time seemed to paralyse the actions of the Opposition in Parliament.

Accusation
against
Parnell's
private
character
and the
Parnellite
Split.

Captain O'Shea, a well-known member of the Irish party obtained a *decree nisi* in the Divorce court against his wife, in which Parnell was the co-respondent. The circumstances brought to light in the trial were such, as seemed to touch both the morality and honour of Parnell. It became at once a question, whether his political position could be retained and whether the English Liberals could consent to work hand in hand with a party of which he was the leader. Gladstone hesitated for some time as to the line of action to be taken, but under pressure from his followers, specially the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Non-conformists, he was compelled to take action against Parnell. Accordingly he wrote a letter to Mr. Morley, which was published in the newspapers, stating that Parnell's continuance as the leader of the Nationalists would nullify his leadership of the Liberals. Parnell assumed a defiant attitude. He refused to resign his leadership and issued a manifesto which virtually transformed the question into one of party rivalry. The Irish were practically asked, whether they would be led by Gladstone or by Parnell. Parnell issued a manifesto declaring that "the English leaders intended to play Ireland false"; but the Roman Catholic bishops turned against him and the majority of the Nationalist members followed their lead. Gladstone continued to co-operate with this section, the leadership of whom was now with Justin M'Carthy. The break-up of the Irish party, or the 'Parnellite split' as it has been called, enabled the Unionists to make considerable headway with their legislative programme. The split of the Irish party led Parnell to

carry on bitter and continued struggles with those of his former followers, who now turned against him, and he died shortly after worsted and fatigued (Oct. 6, 1891). Thus ended the career of the strongest and the strangest, of the Irish political leaders at the age of forty-six only. Although he did not possess, the equally sympathetic heart of O'Connell and his admirable national qualities, still he had achieved a more potent influence than him in Irish as well as English politics. It was he who by his capacity for organisation and guiding influence had "brought Home Rule from the clouds and made it the living issue in the English party conflict." Even Gladstone openly deplored his death as the sudden and melancholy close of a really great career.

Death of
Parnell.

Estimate of
Parnell.

Balfour's Irish Land-Purchase Bill :

In 1891, Balfour got a *Land-purchase Bill* passed. Its object was to facilitate the conversion of the Irish tenants into owners of their own holdings. All purchases made under the act were to be by voluntary agreement between the landlords and the tenants. The purchase money was to be advanced by the British Exchequer, and the tenant would become absolute proprietor after forty-nine years, paying 4 *p. c.* interest to the state in the meantime. Mr. Balfour was on sufficiently good terms with the Irish members and so he piloted this bill without opposition.

Balfour's
Bill, making
Irish
tenants
absolute
proprietors
of the soil.

Domestic affairs :

Besides the Irish legislations, the government passed a great many laws for Great Britain, much of which owing to the alliance of the Liberal-Unionists was of a decidedly liberal character. On June 21, 1887, the government of Salisbury celebrated the Jubilee or fiftieth

The Queen's
Jubilee
celebration,
1887.

Its
importance.

year of Victoria's reign, which helped much to deeply impress upon the public mind the importance of an imperial policy, already effected by the African scramble initiated by Germany in 1884, and of the vast resourcefulness of the Empire as witnessed at the South Kensington Exhibition of Indian and Colonial productions held in the previous year. It was celebrated over all parts of the British dominions with thanks-giving service and demonstrations of joy. The Queen laid the foundation of the Imperial Institute ; and a Colonial conference was held in London where representatives of the mother-country and of the self-governing and other colonies met together to discuss matters of inter-imperial importance. The celebration of the Jubilee thus helped the monarchy to gain a fresh strength by definitely making the British Sovereign to be considered as the living symbol of the unity not only of the British nation but also of the whole British Empire.

Local
Government
Act passed,
1888.

In 1888, Mr. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer carried out a plan reducing the interest on much of the national debt, whereby a great saving was made for the nation. The same year a *Local Government Act* gave to popularly elected county-councils the management of the local affairs. The new bodies were entrusted with almost all the powers, hitherto exercised by the Justices of the Peace. London became a separate county. England thus became a self-governing country in all the lesser but highly important details of ordinary life. A similar act for Scotland was passed next year.

Board of
Agriculture
organised
1889.

* In August, 1889, a new department of state was organised as the Board of Agriculture and its President became a member of the cabinet. The creation of this office shows the recognition of the labour-interest, which was introduced

into the electorate by the Third Reform Act, as an important political factor.

In 1890, a sum of money arising from a spirit duty was handed over to the county-councils for the promotion of technical education. In 1891, an *Education Act* was passed whereby elementary education which had been made compulsory in 1880 was now made free in England and Wales. The same year a *Factory Act* was passed, limiting the hours of labour for women to 12 a day only, and raising the minimum age of employment of children to 11. By the *Tithes Act* of the same year the tithes, which had been made into a fixed rent-charge and which had hitherto been collected from the tenant, were henceforth to be paid by the landlord for which the dissenting farmers could no more think that they were paying for the support of a church to which they did not belong, and there were no more tithe-riots.

Free
Education
Bill, and
Factory
Act, 1891.

Tithe Act,
1891.

In 1892, *Small Holdings Act* was passed, empowering county-councils to borrow money on the security of the debts for the purpose of buying lands of small holdings for agricultural purposes.

Small
Holdings
Act, 1892.

Foreign Policy :

Lord Salisbury was a Foreign Minister of unusual ability. From his very accession to office, he made it evident that he had no intention of holding that self-asserted imperialism which Lord Beaconsfield had been inclined to favour. His deep-seated love of peace made him press diplomatic methods their farthest extremes in order to avoid war. A *Triple Alliance* between Germany, Italy and Austria tended much to the preservation of peace. Though there was an outburst of anti-British feeling in Germany in 1888, the relations bet-

Salisbury's
diplomacy
to avoid
war.

ween the two countries were ameliorated by the attempts of Salisbury.

Salisbury's
plan of
increasing
the Navy—
and the
Hamilton
programme.

The European nations were adopting a somewhat strange increase of maintaining gigantic armaments, and Salisbury, accepting the received principle of the time that peace was best maintained by preparation of war, carried out an elaborate plan in 1889 for a vast increase of the navy known as the "Hamilton programme," according to which 72 new ships were to be built at a cost of £21½ millions beyond the ordinary estimates. A 'Two-power standard' was also adopted whereby the British navy was to be maintained at least as strong as the two next stronger navies combined. A commission was appointed to enquire into the administration of the military and naval departments which reported against the concentration of authority in the Commander-in-chief; and a national defence committee was formed, consisting of members of the cabinet and high officials.

His policy
of aloofness
from
European
quarrels.

On the whole, Salisbury followed the traditional policy of the government to stand aloof from the European quarrels, and in foreign affairs his Ministry was very quiet. A small war with Bulgaria was happily prevented from developing into a European conflict. In India and the Colonies there was profound peace. The occupation of Egypt continued with conspicuous success. The greatest difficulty with which the Foreign office had to contend, was that arising from the almost sudden rise throughout Europe of a desire to colonise the African continent. A mania for colonial expansion arose in all the great European countries. The English also threw themselves eagerly into the scramble for the possession of the newly discovered country, and they at once found themselves face to face with Spain, Portugal, Germany, France and

Italy. Lord Salisbury though bitter in spirit was of a singularly pacific disposition, and he approached the colonial complications with an acknowledgement that other nations had fairly occupied the places left vacant by England. He limited himself to what may be honestly called 'the British interest,' i.e., such territories as were actually in some degree occupied by the British, or which appeared to be necessary for the expansion of such rudimentary settlements.

Salisbury's limitation of the "British interest".

Scramble for Africa :

The Berlin Conference :

The great feature of the world's history during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the expansion of Europe in Asia and Africa, and in the Pacific, the largest field of action being in Africa. In 1884, the scramble for Africa had become so far developed that an international conference was called to lay down rules for fixing the 'sphere of influence.' At that time France was securely planted in Algeria and in Tunis in the North, and Great Britain was definitely established in the South and West Africa and formally in Egypt. Portugal had settlements scattered along the East and West coasts, and Germany had effected a footing in Uganda and Upper Nile. The Berlin Conference of 1884-85 decided in favour of freedom of navigation on the Congo, the Niger, and later applied it to the Zambesi. The African development since the Berlin conference may be divided in three well-defined geographical groups, as follows.

Scramble for settlements in Africa leading to an international conference at Berlin (1884-85).

North-East Africa :

There Germany was trying to supplant Portugal at the north end of her each coast-

Imperial
British
Africa
Company
formed.

Anglo-
German
settlement
in N. E.
Africa.

claims ; and this aroused the alarm of the British missionary interest in Zanzibar. Accordingly, Mr. William Mackinnon, a Scottish merchant obtained a charter for an Imperial British East Africa Company in 1887, to administer the coast-strip claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar ; and at the same time, Stanley, the great African explorer was given an authority to conclude treaties with the native chiefs of the region of the Nile lakes, placing their lands under British protection, and these treaties were passed over to the East Africa Company. British influence was thus gradually extended to the Nile. In 1890, an Anglo-German agreement limited these spheres of interests of the contending powers of the region. Great Britain secured the protectorate of Zanzibar and Uganda in return for ceding Heligoland to Germany and recognising the French protectorate over Madagascar.

West and East Africa :

Royal
Niger
Company
founded.

In West and East Africa, Great Britain came almost into conflict with both France and Germany. In West Africa, she possessed various territories, *e.g.*, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the tract round the Niger delta. Sir George Goldie organised the British traders in the last-named district into a United Africa Company, which afterwards received a charter in 1886, of the old East India Company type, as the Royal Niger Company. Meanwhile in 1884, Great Britain had assumed a protectorate over the Niger coast, and this had been formally recognised by the Berlin conference. The most serious difficulty of the Niger Company arose from the desire of the French officers to create a continuous colonial empire, stretching southwards from Algeria to the Guinea Coast, and behind lake Tchad to the French Congo territory. These difficulties

were settled for the present by the Anglo-French agreement of 1890, which excluded France from the Hausa States and Bornu, leaving to her the Sahara desert—"light soil in which the Gallic cock might scratch."

Anglo-French settlement in West and East Africa.

South Africa :

In 1884, the British government had abandoned, or seemed to abandon, all claims of suzerainty over the South African Republic, except a power to disallow the treaties with foreign powers, and the German government annexed Demaraland and Namaqualand. Thus there arose the possibility of an alliance between Germany and President Kruger, which would have effectively stopped British extension northwards. In 1885, gold was found in great quantity in Transvaal, and the new Boer Republics were being founded outside the treaty-limits of Transvaal. An expedition under Sir Charles Warren in 1885 checked the expansion of Transvaal in the western frontiers, and annexed the whole region of Bachuanaland to the British Empire. On the other hand, an eastward expansion of Transvaal was recognised in the new republic in 1886. Boer extension northwards was practically prevented by the establishment in 1888 of the British South African Company, which had acquired extensive mining rights from Lobengula, the Matabele chief. This company was the creation of Cecil Rhodes, an English emigrant, who was destined to play an important part in the history of South Africa during the next few years. He had emigrated to the Cape Colony in his early days, and acquired a vast fortune in the diamond mines at Kimberley. It was he who first exploited the riches of Transvaal gold-fields. He then formed the idea of an empire-building in the South African territories, and of extending British dominion

Foundation of the Boer Republics.

Cecil Rhodes and the British South African Company.

Cecil Rhodes and his idea of

**British
Empire
in South
Africa.**

into the vast savage tracts towards the North. Supported by powerful interests in the city and in London society, he obtained the royal charter in 1889, giving the South African Company sovereign powers. The operations of the company involved it into a conflict with Portugal, which ended in the Anglo-Portuguese agreement of 1891, by which Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland were secured for Great Britain.

Defeat of the Ministry :

**The
Newcastle
Programme.**

On June, 28, 1892, the dissolution of the Parliament took place and a general election followed, which was fought keenly and with very even results. In order to reconcile the different sections of the Liberal party, Gladstone had issued his 'Newcastle Programme' drawn up at the party convention in Newcastle whereby it was proposed to disestablish the Churches of Scotland and Wales, to enable local areas to 'prohibit' the sale of intoxicating liquors, to abolish the plural Franchise and to conciliate the labour organisations. This comprehensive programme, however, failed in its object. A small Gladstonian majority of 40 in favour of Home Rule resulted from the polls, and there first appeared in the Parliament a new independent element, known as the Labour Party with Mr. John Burns, Mr. Keir Hardie, and two others as representatives who considered it as their duty 'to sit in opposition until they crossed the House to form a Labour government.'

**The Labour-
Party in
Parliament.**

Instead of resigning, Salisbury met the new Parliament. But it was already rendered unpopular by its coercive policy in Ireland, and on Asquith's motion, an amendment to the Queen's address was passed, expressing want of confidence in the Ministry. Salisbury now resigned.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fourth Gladstone and Rosebery (Liberal) Cabinets. (1892-'95):

Prime minister—Gladstone ; then Rosebery.
Chancellor of Exchequer—Harcourt.
Home Secretary—Mr. Asquith.
Foreign Secretary—Rosebery ; then
Kimberley.
Colonial Secretary—Marquis of Ripon.
Secretary for War—Campbell-Bannerman.
Irish Secretary—John Morley.

Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill :

Gladstone, now an old man of 83, again introduced the Home Rule Bill on Feb. 13, 1893 with renewed vigour and undaunted energy, with a few modifications. In it, unlike the bill of 1886, the Irish land-purchase clause was omitted and the Irish members were not excluded from the Imperial Parliament, Ireland being permitted to send 80 representatives to Westminster, who would however vote only when Irish matters would be discussed. A preamble to the bill asserted Imperial supremacy over the Irish Legislature. With these limitations Ireland was to be an autonomous country. The anti-Parnellites warmly approved the measure. Chamberlain declared that "the supremacy of the Parliament would be an unsubstantial pageant, the baseless fabric of a

Gladstone's
Second
Home Rule
Bill carried
in the
Commons.

Second
Home
Rule Bill
rejected
by the
Lords.

vision." The third reading was carried by 34 votes only, a little alteration being made in the clause regarding the Irish members at Westminster, who were allowed to vote on all subjects without restriction. In the Lords, Duke of Devonshire moved the rejection of the bill when the second reading was moved by Earl Spencer, and the bill was rejected by 419 votes to 41. Thus ended the attempt of Gladstone to give Ireland an autonomous administration, and the fate of the Home Rule became sealed for many years to come. Gladstone did not venture to embark upon a quarrel with the Upper Chamber on this issue, and the administration went on as if nothing had happened.

Other Domestic Legislations :

Employer's
Liability
Bill
abandoned.

Mr. Asquith introduced the Employer's Liability Bill, which wanted to abolish the doctrine of 'common employment' and make some classes of employers responsible for injuries of their servants. The bill was passed in the Commons, but the Lords insisted to introduce a clause, by which the employed were to be permitted to contract out of the bill in cases where they contributed to mutual insurance funds to provide compensation for injuries or death. So the bill was abandoned by Gladstone in 1894. The *Local Government Bill*, which proposed to establish throughout England and Wales elective district and parish councils, was however passed in 1894 after much discussion in the Lords.

Local Govt.
Act passed,
1894.

During Rosebery Ministry, Harcourt introduced Local Veto Bill by which he proposed to give the local inhabitants the right to forbid the grant of licences for the sale of liquor. It was violently opposed and was abandoned. The

Welsh Disestablishment Bill was in the committee stage when the government was defeated.

Resignation of Gladstone :

The continued opposition of the peers to agree on all points of legislative detail with a minister commanding a majority in the Commons involved a great constitutional question. Gladstone hinted at the radical changes in the powers of the Upper House ; he spoke of the difficulties of late arising with the House of Lords, which he described as 'a question enormously large, a question that has become profoundly a truth, a question which will demand a settlement, and must at an early date receive that settlement from the highest authority' ; and after solemnly indicting the peers in his last great speech on March 1, 1894, he remarked with a sorrowful declaration, "the differences between the two chambers disclosed a state of things which we are compelled to say, that in our judgment it cannot continue." Two days after Gladstone resigned owing to his old age and defective eye-sight. The real cause of his resignation, however, was his difference in the cabinet with Lord Spencer, on the question of increasing the naval estimates for the financial year of 1894-95. The Queen sent a short note to the retiring minister, as she had been much out of sympathy with him during his last tenure of office, adding "the Queen would gladly have conferred a peerage on Mr. Gladstone, but she knows he would not accept it."

Gladstone's indictment on the House of Lords—his last great speech.

His resignation, 1894,—its cause :

The resignation of Gladstone was a sort of cabinet crisis in which the Crown can exercise the best discretion, as there was no recognised leader in the ministerial party. The Queen, however, chose Lord Rosebery as his successor.

Lord Rosebery as Prime minister.

Harcourt's Budget 1894 :

Sir William
Harcourt's
Finance Act,
a great
legislative
achievement

During the session of 1894, Sir William Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer and now the leader of the House of Commons, introduced his masterly-planned budget for consideration. By his *Finance Act*, he abolished the differences in the charges between real and personal property and made the death-duty payable on the estate as a whole and it had to be paid on its selling value in the open market ; as also, the rate of duty was graduated from one to eight p. c., according to the amount of the estate. This method, while lessened the burden of taxation on the poor, gave the Chancellor an additional revenue of £4,000,000 per annum. With this additional sum in hand, he made exemptions and abatements in the income-tax. It was a distinctly radical and socialistic budget, and created much discontent among the propertied men.

Death of Randolph Churchill :

Estimate of
Randolph
Churchill,
the Tory
Democrat.

Suffering continuously for three years, Churchill at last expired on January 24, 1895 at the early age of 46. Although his premature death did not allow him to show his ability as an administrator, or his constructive capacity as a statesman, yet we cannot but note with delight his boldness of spirit, and deep political insight and apprehensiveness, which surely would have rendered him an able party-leader. Like Gladstone and Chamberlain, he also had a personal hold on the electorate. A Conservative in name, he was really a Radical of the older school of politics. 'Peace, Retrenchment and Reform' were his watchwords. He disliked 'bleated armaments,' and had little regard for a 'spirited foreign policy' of the Disraelian type. Thus though he may be charged with political inconsistency, yet it cannot be doubted that he

had a strong hatred against class-privileges. He was a more sincere 'Democrat,' than being a professed 'Tory.' Yet 'when Liberal formulas and tory inertia seemed alike chill and comfortless,' it was he who revived the 'Conservative party in the parliamentary session of 1880, by ably leading the opposition. He had vehemently denounced the Compensation for Disturbance Bill during the second Gladstonian administration, as "the first step in a social war"; and the Arms Bill as "provocative and defiant." During the third reading of the Irish Land Bill he charged Gladstone 'as being under the dictation of Parnell.' When Gladstone introduced the Home Rule Bill, his keen eye perceived the vulnerable point in his opponent's line, and he raised the cry "Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right"; he also denounced it as "a farrago of superlative nonsense designed to gratify the ambition of an old man in a hurry." The 'tragic failure,' during the latter part of his political career, only places before us more vividly the successes, which he achieved in his earlier days.

Foreign and Colonial Affairs :

Africa :

Hardly was the cabinet formed in 1892, the question of retention or non-retention of Uganda came to the forefront, through the financial straits of the British East Africa Company. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Rosebery, considered Uganda 'as the key perhaps of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile basin,' and after an enquiry by Sir Gerald Portal in 1893, it was finally decided to retain the country, and a British protectorate over Uganda was established in June, 1894. In South Africa, Natal was granted responsible government in June, 1893. In Transvaal, the Uitlanders (*i.e.*, Natal.

Question of the retention of Uganda.

Self-government given to Natal.

the non-Boer population) were growing rich and powerful. Further north, raids by Matabele 'impis' on Mashonaland, which was under British protection, led to the breaking out of the First Matabele War in October, 1893. The British troops occupied Buluwayo. Lobengula fled and in an attempt to seize him, Major Wilson died heroically with all his men. No further pursuit of Lobengula was attempted, and soon after he died of disease. Matabeleland being thus conquered, Cecil Rhodes, now Prime minister of Cape Colony, tried to carry out the idea of turning the northern regions of South Africa into a field for British settlement. In 1894, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Ripon, placed Swaziland, by an arrangement, under the control of Transvaal, whereby the favourite design of Kruger, the President of the Boer Republic, to establish political ties with other European powers by obtaining a sea-port, was defeated.

Conquest of
Matabele-
land.

President
Kruger
out-witted.

The Colonial Secretary further tried to remove the grievances of the non-Boer population, by urging upon the Boers that residence in Transvaal for five years by an Uitlander should give him title to vote. These Uitlanders had upto this time no voice in the Boer government, although they bore the chief share of the public burdens. Kruger refused, and when Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary, during the next Ministry seventy-seven thousand of Uitlanders became exasperated against the ruling Boer oligarchy of a non-progressive corrupt type.

Grievances
of the
Uitlanders
and the
Boer
government.

Asia:

In 1893, a dispute arose between Siam and France as to the extension of the borders of French Indo-China. The non-compliance of the French ultimatum led to the blockade of

Bangkok by the French. A British gun-boat sent to Bangkok began to watch the events. At last an agreement was effected by which Siam came to be a buffer state between the French and British possessions. Throughout the dispute, Lord Rosebery showed a firmness, which testifies to the success of his foreign policy.

A war between England and France near Siam avoided by a treaty.

In July 1894, an agreement between England and Japan was effected. By it England provided for the abolition of British Consular jurisdiction in Japan after five years. Thus Japan was for the first time placed on an equal footing with other civilised nations of the world.

Anglo-Japanese treaty, 1894.

In January 1895, war broke out in Chitral and the British government sent an army to restore order there, and to relieve the British Agent who was besieged by the tribesmen. In March, 1895 an arrangement was made with the Amir as to the Anglo-Afghan boundaries, and the Russian frontiers in the Pamirs was also settled.

The Chitral expedition, 1895.

Defeat of Rosebery Ministry :

There were now internal dissensions in the cabinet. Sir William Harcourt was the representative of that section of the party which was dissatisfied with Lord Rosebery. These personal divisions weakened the cabinet, and the Irish members had no interest when they had found that there was no chance of reviving the Home Rule question. At last the government was defeated by a majority of seven votes on June 21, 1895, on Brodrick's motion for an amendment to the estimates of small-arm ammunition, specially cordite, for which insufficient provision had been made. Rosebery at once resigned, and Salisbury became Prime Minister for the third time.

Dissensions within the Cabinet.

Government defeated on the Cordite vote.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Third Salisbury (Unionist) Ministry, (1895-1902.)

Prime Minister—Salisbury.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Hicks Beach.

Home Secretary—White-Ridley ; then
Ritchie.

Foreign Secretary—Salisbury ; then
Lansdowne.

Colonial Secretary—Chamberlain.

Secretary for War—Lansdowne ; then
Brodrick.

Secretary for India—Lord George Hamilton.

Foreign and Colonial Affairs

The attention of the new Ministry was chiefly absorbed in foreign and colonial affairs, and the English public opinion was divided fiercely.

America :

Boundary
dispute
of British
Guiana,
settled by
negotiation.

In Dec. 1895, a dispute arose between England and Venezuela with regard to the boundaries of British Guiana. The U. S. A., tried to settle the dispute and much ill-will arose between England and America on the subject. Ultimately however, according to the wishes of Mr. Cleveland, the President of the U. S. A., Lord Salisbury accepted to the appointment of a boundary commission, consisting of two British and two U. S. A. judges

with the Russian Jurist, Prof. Martens as President. The commission which met in Paris in June, 1899, gave most of the disputed territories to Britain.

Meanwhile in April 1898, Spain came into conflict with the U. S. A. owing to the mis-government of Cuba, and, being beaten, was soon compelled to leave the island. General sympathy of Europe was with Spain, but owing to Salisbury's firm attitude no anti-American coalition could be formed, and the foundation of cordiality between England and the U. S. A. was thus laid.

English
non-inter-
ference
about Cuba.

Relations with Germany :

To make matters worse, came the trouble in South Africa which culminated in Jameson's Raid (*Vide poste*). A telegram sent by the German Emperor to President Kruger, sympathising with and supporting the Boers, having been published in the Berlin, 'Imperial Gazette' bitter feelings of resentment and jealousy sprang up between England and Germany, which rose at its height in a continued 'warfare of tongues and pens' at the close of the Victorian reign.

Resentment
in England
against
Germany
on the
question of
Jameson's
Raid.

Renewal of the Eastern Question :

A series of massacres of Armenians in Asia Minor by the Turks, in 1896, revived the Eastern Question in a new and acute shape. There was great indignation at these systematic massacres since 1894, and formerly Rosebery cabinet urged the Consular representatives of France, Russia and England to make an enquiry, and to ask the Porte jointly to make reforms. But Russia deserting her former policy, refused to take any coercive step against Turkey, and no help could be expected from Germany. So after the renewed massacres of

The
Armenian
massacres
and
Gladstone's
appeal.

Salisbury's
refusal to
interfere.

1896, when Gladstone attempted to rouse the country and asked the government to take independent action on behalf of the Armenians, Salisbury declined to interfere though he held in regard to the Turks that 'we put all our money on the wrong horse.'

Civil war
in Crete
and inter-
ference by
Greece.

A further complication arose, when the island of Crete, inhabited by the Greeks, revolted against Turkey and desired union with Greece in 1897. Greece aflame with passionate sympathy for the Cretans, could not allow Crete to be annexed to the dominions of the Sultan and proved herself 'living Greece once more.' She sent armies to war against the Turks, but her badly led troops were easily beaten by the Ottoman soldiers ably led by Edhem Pasha, and under pressure of defeat they were recalled. The European powers, at the instance of England, now intervened and the fighting came to an end. The Turks were forced to surrender Crete, which was meanwhile occupied by the troops of the powers, and an autonomous government was set up there in 1898 with Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner.

Crete made
autonomous
by the
European
Powers.

The Far East :

War
between
China and
Japan, and
European
intervention.

Much of the European expansion in the Far East was achieved at the expense of China. In 1894 and 1895 there was war between China and Japan, in which China was defeated, and Port Arthur was captured by Japan. But Russia, then with the support of Germany and France, compelled Japan to relinquish Port Arthur, on the plea of preserving the 'integrity' of China. In 1896-'98 these Powers set to work to destroy that integrity by asking from the Chinese grants of 'spheres of influence,' and they obtained lease of Port Arthur, Kiao-Chau, and Kwang-chau-Wan* respectively. England, on the other hand, tried to maintain

the policy of 'open-door' for trade ; but in order to restore the 'balance of power' disturbed by Russia's acquisition, she obtained from China a lease of Wei-hai-Wei and extended her territory on the mainland opposite Hong-kong.

This attempt of dismemberment of the Chinese Empire led to the rising in 1899 of an anti-foreign society in China, known as the 'Boxers.' They committed murderous outrages on foreigners and on natives who were supposed to favour the policy "which was trying to break-up what the Boxers believed to be the religious sacredness of China's ancient principle of absolute reservation from the outer world." Many Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries were cruelly murdered by them, including the German ambassador at Peking ; and the ambassadors of other powers were also besieged with their staffs in the British legation in that city. The commander of the China squadron (British and Foreign), Admiral Seymour's attempt to enter into Peking failed. The Great Powers of Europe, joined by the U. S. A. and Japan, intervened to restore order. A strong mixed contingent of Indian, American and Japanese troops commanded by a German officer captured Peking and set at liberty the besieged ambassadors (Aug., 1900). China paid a large indemnity and her nominal integrity was not disturbed. Henceforth the foundation was laid of the good relationship between England and Japan which resulted in treaties between those two Powers in 1902. Russia however tried to occupy the whole of Manchuria which eventually led to the Russo-Japanese War.

The Boxer
Rising in
China
suppressed

Reconquest of Sudan :

British troops had been withdrawn from Sudan in 1885, after the fall of Khartoum, and

Kitchener's
annexation
of Khartoum
and
suppression
of the
Mahdi.

it was left entirely to the possession of the Madhi and his successor the Khalifa who continued their fanatical oppression and tyranny. In the spring of 1896, the Anglo-Egyptian administration determined to undertake the reconquest of Sudan. Sir Herbert Kitchener with an well-disciplined Egyptian army pushed the Egyptian frontiers southwards to Dongola, and his slow but well-planned campaign culminated in a decisive defeat of the Khalifa's army at *Omdurman* in Sept. 1898, and led to the capture of Khartoum. Thus ended the long reign of fanaticism which had well-nigh depopulated the Upper Nile valley, and Sudan came under the protectorate of Britain.

The Fashoda Incident :

French
claim to
South
Sudan
abandoned.

The French were mortified at the reconquest of Sudan, and a French officer Major Marchand had marched across North Africa with a small body of native troops to Fashoda, higher up the Nile, and claimed a part of South Sudan for France (July, 1898). War between England and France seemed likely. Lord Salisbury not only refused to come to any compromise with the French government, but also declined to discuss the matter. Eventually France gave way in Nov., 1898 and abandoned all claims to Sudanese territory. An agreement was signed in London in March, 1899 placing the Egyptian Sudan under the *condominium* of England and Egypt.

Anglo-
French
agreement
regarding
Egyptian
Sudan.

South Africa :

(a) The Jameson's Raid and Cecil Rhodes :

In Dec. 1895, Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia, as the Matabele and Mashona

territories were now called, with several hundred troops of the British South African Company's forces, made a raid on Transvaal. Cecil Rhodes who was then the Cape Premier as well as the managing director of the said chartered company, and the great cosmopolitan financiers of the Rand who owned the gold mines, wanted better government in Transvaal, and they planned a revolution at Johannesburg. Their plan was to seize the arsenal at Pretoria and hold Johannesburg, which would lead the High Commissioner Sir Hercules Robinson to come up to mediate and the imperial government to insist on drastic changes resulting in the overthrow of the Kruger oligarchy. It however failed as the 'reform leaders' in Johannesburg could not agree, some wanting British rule, and some a non-Dutch republic which however Rhodes disliked. Rhodes, hearing of the differences and thinking that it was unlikely to succeed, urged Jameson not to go on. But Jameson with six hundred troopers entered into Transvaal, and thus "upset the apple-cart." At Krugersdorp however Jameson and his men surrendered to the Boers under General Cronje (Jan. 2, 1896). Before the action took place Jameson had received two messages from the British government to return, which he deliberately disobeyed. The Boers sent the raiders to England to be tried and various moderate punishments were inflicted upon them including Jameson. Rhodes was not tried, but he resigned the Cape Premiership, as well as the managing directorship of the chartered company. On July 13, 1897, a Parliamentary committee however severely censured him for connection with the Raid. The Raid however embittered the feeling of the Boers against the English and President Kruger began preparations for war, while the 'Uitlanders' came to be treated more harshly.

Dr. Jameson's raid on Transvaal

Failure of the original plan.

Surrender of Jameson before the Boers.

Rhodes resign the Premiership of Cape Colony and severely censured.

(b) The South African War, or the Boer War, 1899-1902 :

Conference
between
Milner and
Kruger
ending in
failure, war
declared.

Being enraged at the Jameson Raid, the Transval Boers adopted further measures to exasperate the 'Uitlander' population. Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, asked the Boers to redress the grievances of the 'Uitlanders' in vain. In May, 1899, he wired to Chamberlain that "the spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of Helots was undermining British influence in South Africa." Shortly after, a conference was held at Bloemfontein between Milner and Kruger. Milner demanded five years' franchise for the 'Uitlanders' on the lines of Lord Ripon, the former Colonial Secretary ; Kruger offered only a seven years' franchise with many restrictions. Negotiations being fruitless England declared that she would lay down the terms of settlement herself. At this offer came from Transvaal in July, 1899, agreeing to the five years' franchise if Great Britain would give up her claims to suzerainty and would not interfere in the internal affairs of the republic. To this Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, replied the 'Great Britain could not divest herself of her rights' and "maintained the suzerainty" and that the 'Imperial government considered further negotiations useless.'

Boer
advance
into Natal.

Siege of
Lady Smith
and defeat
of the
English.

On Oct. 9, 1899, Kruger sent an ultimatum to England requesting the withdrawal of all English forces from Transvaal borders, and to cease sending reinforcement to South Africa. On her refusal, on Oct. 11, the Boers invaded Natal and Cape Colony. They wasted time in laying siege to *Lady Smith*, *Kimberley* and *Maffeking*. On the other hand, Sir Redvers Buller, who was sent out to take command against them, divided his forces in such a way that he and his colleagues were badly defeated

in Dec. 1899. Thereupon the British government sent out Lord Roberts and Kitchener at the head of large forces, regulars and volunteers from all parts of the Empire. In Feb., 1900 they relieved Kimberley and captured a large force under Cronje at *Paardeburg*, and at the same time Buller relieved Lady Smith. *Bloemfontein* was next captured and Orange Free State was annexed. *Pretoria* was then taken (June 5, 1900), and *Transvaal* was also annexed (Sept. 1, 1900). It was thought that the war was over, but the Boers under Botha, De Wet and others maintained an obstinate guerilla warfare and gave Lord Kitchener nearly two years' hard work before peace was made at *Vereenging* (June 1902). *Transvaal* and the Orange Free State were incorporated into the British Empire and the federation of all South Africa came shortly afterwards.

Relief of
Lady
Smith and
Pretoria
taken, 1900.

Peace of
Vereenging
concluded
with the
Boers 1902.

Death of Gladstone, and Estimate of his Statesmanship :

Gladstone died on May 19, 1898. Undoubtedly it was a national loss, for his character and intellectual abilities, his lofty moral ideal, his sincere desire to promote the interests of the masses marked him as one of the most distinguished statesmen of the Queen's reign. "He had been a great statesman, one of the greatest known to modern times ; he had been an orator entitled to rank among the highest of all ages ; he had been a profound student of History and Literature, a lover of Poetry and the Arts, and a Philanthropist of the purest order." "As a Parliamentary orator and debator Gladstone never had a superior in the splendid record of Parliamentary eloquence."

Death of
Gladstone—
a national
loss.

Abilities of
Gladstone.

In finance, Gladstone achieved a marked success, as noticed in his budgets of 1859 to 1865, and his budget of 1860 is known as the 'great

Gladstone's
success in
financial
policy.

budget.' Equally anxious like Peel and Cobden for the emancipation of commerce, Gladstone adopted the simple policy of raising his money by high income-tax and high rates of duty on a few articles, neither absolute necessities of life nor raw materials of manufacture, whenever there was the necessity of a large revenue in order to meet the heavy national expenditure. At the same time he was heroic in economy. 'Economy' he said, is the first and great article in my financial creed.' He firmly believed that all excess in the public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a pecuniary waste, but a great political and above all, a great moral evil.' Pursuant to his policy of retrenchment and economy, and partly owing to his conviction of the resulting evils, Gladstone was opposed to 'militarism' and a vigorous foreign policy. He himself said, 'My name stands in Europe as a symbol of the policy of peace, moderation, and non-aggression.' He however and not hesitate to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed, if necessary, and this accounts for his attitude against the king of Naples who brutally treated the Liberals there, and his 'bag-and-baggage' policy against the Turks for committing Bulgarian atrocities and the Armenian massacres.

Foreign
policy of
Gladstone.

Estimate of
Gladstone
by his con-
temporaries.

'He was one of the three statesmen in the House of Commons of his own generation,' says Morley, 'who had the gift of large and spacious conception of the place and power of England in the world and of the policies by which she could maintain it. Cobden and Disraeli were the other two. * * * Each of these three was capable of wide surveys from high eminence. But Mr. Gladstone's performances in the sphere of active government were beyond comparison.' Unlike the ways and artifices common to statesmen, Gladstone's one unpassioned desire had been to see the right

and to 'follow it whithersoever it might lead.' Balfour spoke of him as 'the greatest member of the greatest deliberative assembly that the world has ever seen.' Lord Salisbury remarked, 'he will leave behind him the memory of a great Christian statesman.' Mr. John Dillon, the Irish Nationalist member of the Commons, spoke of him as the great Englishman dominated by the love he bore to the Irish nation and by his eager and even passionate desire to give to Ireland Liberty and peace.' But, unfortunately, as Gladstone's relations with the Queen were not very cordial, she did not express her personal appreciation of the statesman on his death, except in her telegram to his wife saying, 'I shall ever gratefully remember his devotion and zeal in all that concerned my personal welfare and that of my family.' His death left the Liberal party divided in itself, specially on the question of the attitude of England towards the Turks and on the principle of Home Rule for Ireland, and there was no man in the party who could claim to be Gladstone's rightful successor. [For a comparison of Gladstone with Disraeli, *vide pp. 133-34.*].

The Queen's
relations
with
Gladstone.

Domestic Affairs :

The session of 1897, witnessed the passing of a *Workmen's Compensation Act* on a liberal scale, by which workmen were entitled to compensation for death or injury sustained during employment and the rights of labour were safeguarded. This year also took place the celebration of the second or 'Diamond' Jubilee of Queen Victoria on her completion of the sixtieth year of her reign. There was universal rejoicing in Great Britain, India and the Colonies. On this occasion the Premiers of all the self-governing colonies of the Empire as well as representatives from India and the Crown-

Diamond
Jubilee of
the Queen,
1897.

colonies assembled in London in a conference where they discussed about imperial defence and trade within the Empire. In 1898, an Act was passed by which elective county-councils were extended to Ireland also. During the same year, a measure on the subject of benefices was introduced, and the whole question of introduction of Ritualistic practices into the Church—practices declared to have been borrowed from the Church of Rome—and the regulation of public worship in the Church of England became a subject of vehement controversy; but the whole problem remained unsolved till the close of the Queen's reign.

In 1899 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became the leader of the Liberal opposition. Parliament in this session by the *Government of London Act* established borough councils in London, and by authorising the purchase of the Niger Company for £865,000, added a dominion to the Crown, one-third the size of India. In May 1899, an International Conference was held at Hague by which a permanent court of arbitration was established there.

The Hague
Conference,
1899.

In 1900, on the supposed favourable conclusion of Boer War which had caused a feeling of irritation in the beginning, Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, persuaded Salisbury to appeal to the country on the question of fighting the war to a finish. A new general election, called the 'Khaki Election' (from the uniform worn by the troops in South Africa) took place and gave the government a majority of 134. In 1901, all the Australian colonies were united in a great federal union by the *Australian Commonwealth Act*, which was modelled on the lines of the Dominion of Canada Act of 1867.

The 'Khaki'
Election,
1900.

Australian
Common-
wealth
Act, 1901.

Another important movement during the later years of Queen Victoria's reign was the agitation for women's rights to enter the professions of law and medicine and to bear a part in the administration of municipal parochial and other local governing bodies. An International Congress of Women held at Westminster in 1889 sent a delegation to the Queen at Windsor Castle. A significant change in public feeling regarding women's rights has however been effected during the reign of the Queen.

Agitation
for
Women's
rights.

Death of the Queen, and her Character :

The Queen died at Osborne on Jan. 22, 1901 in her eighty-second year, and the longest reign in the history of Britain was over. Her death was a distinctly national loss for the country and the Empire, for she had rendered invaluable services for both. Possessed of an imperious will and endowed with great physical and mental energy, she labouriously studied every details of administration and had exercised the most potent and salutary influence in public affairs. While she had been a model as a wife and mother, she performed most faithfully and most judiciously her part as 'the constitutional Sovereign of England.' On all questions of policy, she formed independent opinions to which she tenaciously adhered; but notwithstanding her strong private objections, she gracefully gave her assent to all those measures which received the popular support and were finally decided upon by her advisers ; e.g. in the Irish Church Bill of 1869, in the Reform Bill of 1884 &c. Her personal influence was great, and never having put herself at the head of any political party she constantly employed herself in moderating party differences and thereby facilitating the harmonious working of the constitution in the great formative and transitional period. "She

Queen's
death—
distinctly
national
loss.

Her part
as the con-
stitutional
sovereign
of England.

Her position
above
political
parties.

Queen's
relations
with her
ministers.

never attempted to overrule her ministers, but always insisted on being thoroughly informed as to their purposes and policy, and she never failed to make her opinions clearly known to the statesmen over whom she presided."

Powers
of the
Crown
during
her reign.

During her reign however the power and prerogatives of the Crown diminished, which is partly due to her respect for the constitution, partly to her personal idiosyncracies and partly to the growth of democratic principles amongst her subjects. Thus the Crown ceased to exercise the personal authority over the Army. The Home Secretary came to be the controller of the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, and distribution of titles and honours which were formerly freely done by the Crown now became an integral part of the machinery of party-politics.

Her
personal
qualities.

In spite of it, it must be admitted that never was a British Sovereign so sincerely mourned by people of various denominations alike, for she was universally respected and loved for her tenderness of feelings, her exceptional breadth of sympathies, her simplicity and purity of life, her tolerance in religion, her 'sincere love of public justice' and 'staunch fidelity to domestic duty' which, says Lee in his *Life of Queen Victoria*, "came in course of years to be imbued with much of the force of patriarchal wisdom, even with something like prophetic strain." Lord Salisbury truly remarked about her 'passionate patriotism' and her 'incomparable judgment.' Mr. Balfour said, "she passed away without an enemy in the world ; for even those who loved not England loved her."

CONCLUSION. .

Literary, Scientific and Social Progress of England :

The history of England in the Victorian age will not be remembered as a distinct epoch merely for the colonial expansion and imperial consolidation that went on side by side ; but scientific research and literary genius raised the age to a higher sphere. Scientific genius, as if, permeated the minds of the great writers of the age, with a belief in natural law and order. And we witness the greatest revolution in scientific thought brought about by Darwin's '*Origin of Species*' published in 1859, which gradually led to the general acceptance of the 'doctrine of evolution' or the theory of progress by gradual growth, and its extension to many other branches of knowledge.

The first poet of the age, Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) depicted in finished verse the feelings and opinions, the different conflicting tendencies of the age, side by side with the varied moods of nature, combining the sense of duty with the sense of spirituality. The second, or as some say the first, great poet Robert Browning (1812-1889) was not only responsive, like Tennyson, to the spirit of the age, but was also popular as a poet-philosopher, who had made individual human being, as distinct from man as a social, political, or biological animal, his favourite theme. In strong contrast to them stood the æsthetic school of poets, who cultivated art for art's sake and whose chief exponents were Swinburne, Morris and Rossetti.

Still poetry was not so much favoured by the reading-public as the prose fictions. The political novels of Disraeli, and Lytton, the humorous paintings of the lives of the middle-class by Dickens, the skilful romances of Thackeray in which he lashed the vices of the great and wealthy, are

always read with delight. The literary activity of women

Women Novelists. is also to be noticed in the field of novel-writing and we cannot but appreciate the literary beauties in the works of Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, Margaret Oliphant, Mrs. Gaskell and Charlotte Yonge.

Some of the prose-writers of the period are generally classed as historians, and the most popular, vivid, and picturesque

Historians. writings of Macaulay, Carlyle, Froude, and Ruskin are full of the dynamic influences of the age. In this connection we cannot omit the names of another school of historians, who tried to teach history by examples, and whose names will ever be remembered by the masterly works of George Grote and Thomas Buckle. As the legal and political conception of 'History' widened, scientific historians appeared in the persons of Stubbs, Freeman, Gardiner, Creighton, Seeley, Lecky and Green.

Philosophy, much more than history, was imbued with the spirit of the age. The philosophical works of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer had a vast influence

Philosophy. over the political and ethical thoughts of the age, and the evolutionary philosophy of Darwin pervaded all departments of intellectual activity. This rapid progress of scientific thought, for sometime, had shaken the belief of men in religion and led to the growth of materialism, which may be noticed from the writings of Huxley and Tyndall. But a reaction soon followed. This was due partly to the masterly philosophical writings and lectures of Thomas Green, professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, and mostly to the fresh discoveries in science in the departments of electricity, radiant energy &c. Most of the eminent physicists and naturalists, including Spencer himself, now admitted that some unknowable spiritual power rested and worked behind all phenomena.

And now, literature once more began to deal with serious problems, instead of simply trying to amuse the readers, and in the closing decade of the Victorian age, we find

New Phase of Literature. dramatists, novelists and essayists

like Mr. Humphry Ward, Wells, Shaw and Rudyard Kipling, dealing afresh with "problems of conduct and morals as applied to the life of societies and individuals."

The spread of education during the reign, had also the effect of giving a stimulus to the Periodical Literature. growth of periodical literature. Monthly, weekly and daily journals were published at a highly cheaper rate, and the vast masses now began to be equipped with the most up-to-date informations.

The striking progress of science is more distinctly to be noticed in the domain of practical inventions and discoveries. Scientific inventions. Steam-engines had already brought in a new era in the transport business through the ingenuity of Richard Trevithick and George Stephenson, and they began to be largely applied for the purpose, now, both on land and seas. The application of steam as a sail-power, and the utilization of the screw-propeller has made navigation so convenient that steam-vessels began to rapidly supersede the sailing ships. In 1836, began the railway mania and by 1850, a net-work of railways, spread over the whole country, effected for inland commerce what the steam-vessels did for sea-trade. Thus Britain came to be one of the first-class trading states of the world. Besides the application of steam-power, we notice also the rapid progress made by electricity. It not only came to be largely used for illuminating all public and private buildings but also for rapid transmission of messages. Electrical appliances. Electric Telegraph patented in 1837, came to be the state-property in 1870, and the telephonic system was adopted in 1880. Moreover, electric motor and petrol-engine, brought to perfection after 1890, made tramways and motor cars available for passenger-traffic on roads, which became comparatively deserted after the invention of railways.

Owing to these mechanical inventions as well as the easy means of communication and transport people began to shift from the villages to the towns and their suburbs, which

went on progressing rapidly, while the purely agricultural

Manufacture.

areas began to decline. Moreover the easy means of supply of cheap food and raw materials from foreign countries, by the development of the means of transport as well as by adopting the policy of free-trade, have rapidly increased the manufacturing activity of the country, while the agricultural interest began to decline inversely. So, since 1873, England became the one great manufacturing and commercial nation of the world, and her

Material wealth.

general wealth and productive activity were increasing rapidly, in spite of her agricultural interest having the least share in this expansion.

Social progress.

The continual shifting of the people to towns and manufacturing areas and the growth of competition among them had had its evil effects on society, and the terrible evils of the early factory system went on unheeded for some-time till the Factory Acts were passed, the credit of which are largely due to Lord Shaftesbury, limiting the working-hours of women and children and

Factory Acts.

providing for the ventilation, fencing and inspection of workshops. Side by side with the growth of factory legislations, we notice the rise of the spirit of self-help and organised action among the industrial classes. The Trade Unions, which were

Trade Unions.

generally societies for protecting the interests of the workmen and raising rate of wages, being often guided by ignorant and unreasonable men, led to violent strikes and lock-outs, and excited bitter feelings between the employees and employers. The Sheffield outrages of 1866 called public attention to them, and a Royal commission was appointed, the report of which was so favourable that the government had to pass Acts in 1871, 1875, and 1876 which legalised these Unions, and the right of workmen to combine to raise wages by lawful means became accepted. Since then they have done much to improve the condition of more skilled labourers. The condition of the mass of unorganised labourers who were outside these Unions was not however much prosperous, as these Trade Unions

were rather oligarchic in their methods and were being converted into privileged craft-guilds. New unions of these unskilled workmen were soon formed with more

socialistic views, which held the necessity of state-interference in improving the condition of the labourers, even more than by private efforts. State Socialism (such as nationalisation of land) and political pressure on the government for socialistic legislations were accepted at the Trade Union Congress. New Unionism thus began to grow apace, and with the extension of the suffrage the labouring population came to have a voice in the Parliament till ultimately a new independent element appeared in the Commons in 1892 in the shape of the 'Labour-party.'

Much has also been done to improve the condition of the poor by philanthropic efforts of such bodies as the Salvation Army, established by General William Booth, a Methodist preacher in 1878. The workmen are now better paid, though labouring shorter hours; they now

live on better food and put on better clothes, while living in good houses; and getting good education their habits have become more refined. They have come to enjoy a large share in the municipal administration, so that free libraries, baths, recreation grounds, museums have been provided out of municipal rates. The general tone of manners and their standard of external civilisation are now really higher than hundred years ago. Still, the lowest stratum of the society is as yet "in the grip of perpetual poverty" and consequently physically and morally degraded. At the same time, we cannot but notice with an intense feeling of remorse the deterioration of the fashionable society, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, its levity, its want of dignity, its loss of intellectual and spiritual tastes. This is why the English nation has been lately charged with the loss of its energy and its talent and capacity for high intellectual and practical achievements in the near future.

APPENDIX A.

The English Constitution in Victorian Age.

A. The Executive :

The English Monarchy, as it stands, is limited by a constitution. The Executive in the English constitution consists of the Crown and a Cabinet of ministers appointed with the formal consent of the Sovereign. The government is conducted in the name of the Crown by the Cabinet which is responsible to the Parliament. In fact, the House of Commons chooses the Executive and at least fixes the minister who is to be the Prime Minister or the president of the Cabinet and to lead the party that commands the majority at the time in the House of Commons.

The Crown :

The modern English King is the creation of the Act of Settlement. He is no better than a hereditary counsellor whose rank and dignity command the respect of the ministers. Though he is not responsible to Parliament nor a member of the Cabinet, his powers are regulated by the constitution which he must respect and carry out. He has a very small share in the legislative process and none in financial decisions. The policy of the country is not dictated by him, but by the Cabinet. The ministers are absolutely responsible for legislation and administration of the country. Consequently the English Sovereign has no responsibility as well as authority in the government of the country, though he has great power in other directions *e.g.* what we may call 'social politics.' The king has influence over his ministers but he cannot control them ; on the other hand, he is bound to go by the advice of the ministers. Hence it is true, in England '*the King reigns, but he does not govern.*' Further, he has no authority over the judicial

administration of the country which has been made independent both of the Sovereign and politics. The will of the Crown is now the will of the ministers who possess the confidence of the House of Commons, which again represents the will of the nation.

The Cabinet :

As the House of Commons has become more and more representative of the nation and as parliamentary authority has gravitated in it, the Cabinet which is supported by the House of Commons has become more and more powerful. Its responsibility to the Parliament is the chief source of its power, because it makes them the agents of the Parliament which is now the sovereign power in England. Hence, in the English constitution, there is no separation between the legislature and the executive, but a happy fusion of the two. The King appoints only such ministers as have the confidence of the House of Commons, and the Cabinet cannot in general hold office except when supported by the House of Commons. Whenever a Cabinet fails to obtain recognition of the majority in the Commons for a bill proposed or acts of state performed i.e. the government is defeated, it is its recognised duty to resign office in a body and a new Cabinet is to be formed. The King sends for the leader of the party that has a majority in the Commons and asks him to choose his colleagues, whom the King may entrust with the chief offices of state e.g. First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, Lord President of the Council, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Five Secretaries of State for War, Colonies, Home, Foreign and Indian affairs, and First Lord of Admiralty. If he succeed in forming a Cabinet after consultation with the leading members of his party, the king accepts the list and bestows portfolios on them. The ministers are selected from both the Houses of the Parliament, distinguished for their parliamentary capacity and though they are nominally equal in rank, the Prime Minister exercises an unquestioned superiority over all and he is in fact the president of the English Cabinet. Being placed in charge of respective offices the ministers carry on the work of administration collectively, each member being respon-

sible for every other member and being compelled to submit to the wishes of others or else to resign his own office in case of disagreement among themselves. Again, as the Cabinet is responsible to the House of Commons only, which holds the purse-string of the nation and grants supplies, it need not resign office if the House of Lords censures its acts, and the House of Commons can compel its resignation by withholding supplies or refusing to pass the budget.

B. The Legislature :

The laws of the United Kingdom are made by the Parliament which embodies the supreme will of the State. To become law, bills are to be introduced or proposals to be made, first, in the House of Commons by the House of Lords or *vice versa* ; and when agreed upon by both the Houses, then they receive the assent of the Crown, but this has become a mere matter of form.

The House of Commons :

It is the prime organ of the national will. It consists of 670 members, elected by constituencies into which the United Kingdom is divided. Any full citizen is eligible for election, except priests and deacons of the Church of England, ministers of the Church of Scotland, Roman Catholic priests, and sheriffs and other returning officers; English and Scotch peers are also not allowed to be members, though Irish peers, if not returned to the House of Lords, have often sat in the Commons. The members are elected by secret ballot for a term of seven years, but the House may be dissolved at a much earlier date ; and as a matter of fact no House of Commons has ever lived its full term of existence, because some conflict has arisen requiring an appeal to the constituencies which leads to a General Election. There is at present no particular property qualification for election to this House ; the candidate must possess adequate means and must be prepared to accept unhesitatingly the party programme.

Though the business of this House is entirely under the control of the Cabinet which controls the majority, it

has the exclusive control of the national purse. The Commons only has the right to tax the nation and to grant supplies annually for the conduct of the government ; and as such, they alone can originate money-bills which the Lords must accept or reject as a whole but cannot alter. .

House of Lords :

It consists of some 580 adult noble men,—Earls, Marquises, Barons, Viscounts, English Princes of Royal blood, Bishops and Archbishops, and a certain numbers of Scotch and Irish peers elected from among them by their fellow-peers. It is a hereditary house, though new blood is often introduced in it by the creation of peers by the Crown on the recommendation of the Ministry.

In matters of legislation the consent of the Lords is as necessary as that of the Commons. It may withhold its assent for sometime, but when the Commons speak with the strength of the nation it cannot withhold it ; its veto is therefore suspensive and not absolute. As a Supreme Court of Justice, its position however is superior to that of the Commons. But their judicial functions are now always exercised by the Lord Chancellor, who is ex-officio president of the House of Lords, and four Lords of Appeal, who are learned judges appointed as life-peers specially to perform this duty. The legislation is thus practically controlled by the Commons and the interpretation of the laws rests with the Lords.

APPENDIX B.

Position of Political Parties.

When Victoria ascended the throne, the Whigs under Melbourne were in office. Melbourne, though by party connection a Whig, leaned more towards conservative views and was opposed to all violent changes. The Whigs under him were therefore divided ; and they included the Radicals and the O'Connellites. In spite of their differences, these different sections of the Whigs kept themselves together for sometime, but they could not stand against the Conservatives organised under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel. These Conservatives were the Tories of old who, giving up their programme of unintelligent resistance to all changes, adopted a cautious policy of advance in constitutional and social matters while opposing the violent schemes advocated by the Radicals or the Chartists and the O'Connellites. The Chartist movement in England and the Repeal agitation in Ireland led to the desertion of many Whigs who joined the Conservative party re-organised and strengthened by Peel. When Peel, however, came to power in 1841, he sacrificed the cause of his party to duty to his country. He had been the leader of the Conservative party to maintain 'Protection,' but when in office he did away with it by adopting the policy of 'Free-trade.' The Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 gave a death-blow to the Conservative party, from which it did not recover till 1874. In course of these 28 years, though the Conservatives came to office thrice, they were not in

power. The question at issue in party-politics therefore, since 1846, was the future of the Peelites. That group remained aloof like a 'roying ice-berg' till it merged itself in the Whig party in 1859 and thus destroyed the hope of reconstruction of the Conservative party for a time.

The Repeal event of 1846 which had broken up the Conservatives also loosened to some extent the party-ties of the Whigs. Russell who formed his cabinet after Peel on a narrow Whig basis could not convert the whole Whig party to Free-Traders. As he excluded the Cobdenites, they owed no Whig allegiance and began to vote as they pleased. His was the 'last Whig' administration, and after him the Whig party gradually developed into the Liberal party under the control of middle-class men. It has been truly said "between 1846 and 1867 there was no discussion of principles which stirred men's passions as they had been stirred by the discussion of the Reform Act, or Chartism, or the Repeal of the Corn Laws," and "there were consequently on very sharp dividing lines between political parties.

The Second Reform Act of 1867 made its influence felt in shaping the programme of the Liberals under the leadership of Gladstone as well as in re-constituting the disorganised Conservative party by Disraeli. "While Gladstone appealed to the *pocket* of the Democracy, Disraeli to its *pride*." The Liberals sought to break down landlordism and the Church; the Conservatives on the other hand stood for maintaining the Church and upholding the Monarchy. While the former wanted to avoid all avoidable foreign complications, the latter sought to glorify England through external actions. Both parties however vied with each other in ameliorating the condition of the people by carrying out democratic social reforms, till ultimately Gladstone shattered the Liberal party on the Irish Home Rule question.

The Irish Home Rule Bill introduced by Gladstone in

The Home Rule Bill
and the Liberal Split.

1886 divided the political parties into two groups, viz., the Home Rulers or Gladstonian Liberals and the Unionists. The opponents of Home Rule or the Unionists now consisted of the Conservatives under Salisbury, the Whigs under Hartington and the Radicals under Chamberlain—the last two elements calling themselves

The Unionists and
their position.

Liberal-Unionists who deserting the Gladstonian Liberals had joined in alliance with the Conservatives. The Election of 1886 thus brought the Unionists to power and they remained in office till 1906 except for a short period (1892-'94) when Gladstone once again tried his Home Rule Bill but failed. The national mind filled with the idea of new Imperialism since 1886 expressed itself against the policy of disintegrating the Empire, and fresh dissensions began to take place since 1894 among the Gladstonian Liberals when Rosebery

Further disruption of
the Liberal Party.

adopted a policy of expansion and federation of the British Empire to which Harcourt, the follower of Gladstone, could not agree; and on Rosebery's retirement (in 1899) Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was chosen as the leader of the Liberal party.

Liberal-Unionists
merged in the Conservatives.

Thus while the Liberal party was being weakened, the Unionists were growing in strength as the Liberal-Unionists became fused with the Conservatives, the former becoming Imperialists while the latter being more and more democratic.

Meanwhile a new element appeared in the Parliament

The Labour Party.

when four Labour-members including John Burns and Keir Hardie were returned in the General Election in 1892. So long they had identified themselves with those Radicals who formed the left wing of the Liberal party, but henceforth they decided to "sit in Opposition, till they crossed the House to form a government." Thus was formed the Independent Labour Party, in 1893, pledged to advocate

the cause of the working classes and to support socialistic measures. The party was too weak within the Parliament to achieve anything and could not come to office till thirty years later.

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APPENDIX C.

Growth of Imperialism.

From the beginning of the Victorian Age, a reaction took place against the policy of Britain in treating the colonies as her dependencies, and this led to the grant of self-government to her distant colonies like Canada and Australia. Disraeli said in 1852 'these wretched colonies which in course of time would become independent, now hang like mill-stones in our neck.' The Colonial office in England soon declared its policy to be that the connexion of Britain with the colonies 'while it lasts shall be as profitable to both parties' and separation 'when it comes, as amicable, as possible.' This led to a change in the angle of vision of the English statesmen, and Disraeli himself became the exponent of the new

idea. Supporting the Conservative policy of non-intervention by the government in European affairs between 1866-68 on the ground that 'England had outgrown the European continent,' Disraeli had first struck the keynote of Imperialism, and in 1872 he voiced forth his protest against the continuous policy of disintegrating the Empire

saying 'self-government in distant colonies, when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as

part of a great policy of imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an imperial tariff, by securities for the people of England for the enjoyment of the unappropriated lands which belonged to the Sovereign as their trustee, and by a military code which should have precisely defined the means and the responsibilities by which the colonies should have been defended and by which if necessary this country should call for aid from the colonies themselves.' The British mind was thus inspired with the conception of a confederation of the

colonies united in allegiance to the British Crown and thus brought into 'constant and continuous relations with the Home government' while at the same time enjoying self-government within their dominions. Henceforth the Conservatives, reorganised by Disraeli, adopted the programme of 'preserving the Empire.'

The full tide of this imperialistic idea however did not appear till the eighties when the prodigious expansion of Russia, Germany and America roused Britain to a sense of danger, and Sir John Seeley in his *Expansion of England* pointed out that the political future belonged to the big states. It led Salisbury to join in the 'grab' for

Salisbury and the growth of New Imperialism.

Africa and to acquire territories in the Pacific and the Far East, while at the same time strengthening the position of England by a closer union of all parts of the Empire. The 'New Imperialism' thus came to be zealously promoted since 1886 by those who believed that 'the British populations beyond the seas would provide the means of pouring fresh vital energy into the veins of the mother-country' and lead to the national regeneration and moral and economic salvation of the people. Henceforth a section of the Liberals also, among whom were Rosebery and Chamberlain, looked with pride rather than apprehension upon the extension of imperial responsibilities and burdens. But this view was not

The growing spirit of Imperialism and the Liberal split.

fully shared by Gladstone, Morley, and Harcourt. The growing spirit of Imperialism thus caused a split among the Liberals in 1893, and it was this desire for preserving the Empire, that led to the opposition in the Parliament against Gladstone's Home Rule Bill.

When Chamberlain came to the Colonial office during the closing period of the Victorian Age, he as an ardent champion of Imperialism, energetically set himself to the work of consolidating and developing the extra-European states and dependencies. In carrying this task on, the two ideals of 'partnership' and 'trusteeship' were

Chamberlain ardent advocate of Imperialism.

adopted and acted upon, the former being applied in cases of progressive white settlements like Australia while the latter in cases of backward races like South Africa and India. This growing idea of 'partnership' between the self-governing dominions of the Empire and the mother-country was illustrated in the reign of Victoria by the

evolution of the Colonial Conference in 1887 on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration of the

Queen, when the representatives of the over-seas Empire, the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions, and the secretaries of State for the Colonies and India met together in a gathering in London presided over by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and took part in the discussions of matters of imperial interest. Since then three other Colonial Conferences were held in 1894, 1897, and 1902 during the reign of Victoria. These Conferences are now usually held at intervals of five years and are called Imperial Conferences, and the change in the name is significant. While the decisions adopted by these conferences "have no binding force, such as would attach to the proceedings of a formally constituted legislative body, the path of Empire is smoothed by discussion of difficulties, interchange of views, and friendly agreement between those who for the time being are controlling policy at Home and beyond the seas."

APPENDIX D.

Biography of Leading Personages.

Asquith, Herbert Henry—Born 1852—entered Parliament 1886—acted as one of Mr. Parnell's counsel before the Commission in 1888—took office as Home Secretary under Gladstone in 1892—his Employer's Liability Bill passed in the Commons, but abandoned finally (*Vide p. 168*)—Returned to the bar with the fall of the Ministry in 1895—became Chancellor of Exchequer in 1905, and Prime Minister in 1908.

Balfour, Arthur James—Nephew of Lord Salisbury—born 1848—entered Parliament 1874—acted as Private Secretary to Salisbury—joined as member of the "Fourth Party" in 1880 (*Vide p. 143*)—became President of the Local Government Board during Salisbury's first administration in 1885—joined the Cabinet as Secretary for Scotland in 1886—appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1887—became First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the Commons in 1891, and got the Irish Land Purchase Bill passed (*Vide p. 159*)—resumed those positions when his party returned to power in 1895, and again on the reconstitution of the Ministry in 1900—became Prime Minister on the retirement of Salisbury, after the death of Queen Victoria, in 1902.

Bright, John—Born 1811—took active part in the Reform agitation of 1831-32—joined Anti-Corn Law League in 1839—entered Parliament in 1843 (*Vide p. 33-34*), and succeeded in co-operation with Cobden in getting the Corn-laws repealed—his activities in Parliament and the platform was varied and continuous between 1847-52 ; proposed to apply the remedy of Free Trade in land to the state of things which produced the Irish famine ; appealed unsuccessfully for the despatch of a Royal Commission to India ; appointed member of the select committee of the Commons on official

salaries ; co-operated with Cobden in his attempts of financial reform with a view to reduction of naval and military establishments ; denounced the Russian war with great energy—served under Gladstone as President of the Board of Trade from 1868-70, and then as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster till 1874 and again from 1880-82—resigned office owing to a difference with his colleagues as to their Egyptian policy—opposed the Home Rule Bill in 1886, (*Vide p. 150*)—died 1889.

Chamberlain Joseph—Born 1836—entered Parliament in 1876—joined second Gladstone administration in 1880 as President of the Board of Trade, but grumbled at the rigour of the coercion in Ireland (*Vide p. 130*)—became President of the Local Government Board during third Gladstone Ministry, but resigned in 1886 on the Home Rule question (*Vide p. 147*)—opposed the second reading of the First Home Rule Bill along with the Liberal-Unionists (*Vide p. 150*)—a Round-table Conference for re-union of the Liberals early in 1887, frustrated by him (*Vide p. 153*)—became an ardent advocate of New Imperialism—joined the office of Colonial Secretary in Salisbury's second ministry in 1895—maintained a firm attitude with regard to the Transvaal Boers which led to the Second Boer War (*Vide p. 180*)—resigned office in 1903 in order to advocate a new tariff policy untrammelled—owing to illness withdrew from public life in 1906.

Churchill, Lord Randolph—second son of the sixth Duke of Marlborough, born 1849—entered Parliament in 1874, and within four years became prominent on the Conservative side by his scathing attacks on the "old gang" of his own party as also by criticising Gladstone—became the leader of the "Fourth Party" or the Tory Democrats since 1880 (*Vide p. 143*)—opposed the Irish policy of coercion during the second Gladstone administration—appointed Secretary for India under Salisbury in 1885—became Chancellor of Exchequer and Leader of the Commons in 1886, but resigned the same year (*Vide p. 152*) and never again

held office—failed in health after 1891—died 1895—estimate of him (*Vide p. 170*).

Cobden, Richard—son of a Sussex farmer, born 1804—began life as a commercial traveller and rose to be a successful business-man—travelled abroad in Greece, Turkey and United States—joined Anti-Corn Law League and entered Parliament in 1841 (*Vide p. 33-34*)—succeeded in co-operation with Bright in getting the Corn-Laws repealed, in 1846 (*Vide pp. 37-38*)—received a purse of £80,000 from the public in recognition of his services—refused to join the Russell Ministry, and offered a strong opposition to the Derby government of 1852 and the Coalition Cabinet of Aberdeen—condemned the war with Russia entirely—succeeded in causing a dissolution of the Parliament in 1857 by carrying the motion condemning the actions of Sir John Bowring in China—negotiated the commercial treaty with France in 1860 (*Vide p. 78*)—advocated peace, retrenchment, non-interference and free trade, and was one of the few English politicians who in the early years of the American Civil War were steady supporters of the Northern States—died 1865.

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield—eldest son of Isaac Disraeli, born in 1804—was first destined for the law, but soon turned to literature and published his first novel *Vivian Grey* in 1827—appeared as the Radical candidate for the Parliament in 1832, but gradually changed his political views—violently attacked the Liberal party in 1836 in his *Letters of Runnymede*—entered Parliament as Conservative member in 1837—his first unsuccessful speech in the House ended with the words, "I have begun several times many things, and I have often succeeded at last. I shall sit down now; but the time will come, when you will hear me"—began as a supporter of Sir Robert Peel, but turned to be a Protectionist and violently opposed him when Peel pledged to abolish the Corn Laws in 1846 (*Vide p. 37*)—served as Chancellor of Exchequer under Lord Derby in 1852 and 1858

(*Vide pp. 54, 71*)—brought in a Reform Bill in 1859 which was defeated (*Vide p. 73*)—led the opposition for the next eight years during which the Liberals were in office and violently attacked Lord Palmerston's foreign policy—again came to office as Chancellor of Exchequer under Derby in 1866—carried the Second Reform Bill on the basis of household suffrage in 1867 after a violent struggle (*Vide p. 93-95*)—became Prime Minister for the first time in 1868, but his tenure of office proved to be short (*Vide p. 97*)—again became Prime Minister in 1874 when the Conservatives came to power and remained in office for six years during which several domestic legislations e.g. Factory Act, Artisan's Dwelling Act, Cross's Public Health Act, Agricultural Holdings Act were passed, and a vigorous active foreign policy was pursued (*Vide pp. 115-16*)—was violently opposed by the Liberal politicians for his policy of neutrality with regard to Turkey, though he ultimately brought back 'peace with honour' to England by accepting the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 (*Vide p. 122*)—he was raised to the peerage in 1876 as Earl of Beaconsfield—resigned office in 1880 when the Liberals came to power—died in 1881—for his character and contrast from Gladstone (*Vide pp. 133-34*)—the best known of his political romances are *Sybil*, *Coningsby*, *Tancred*, and *Endymion*.

Drummond, Thomas—Born in 1797—appointed Permanent Under-Secretary for Ireland under Melbourne—governed that country by ordinary law, recognising the grievances of the people and adopting a conciliatory policy towards the Catholics—was bitterly attacked by the landlord party for his remark 'Property has its duties as well as rights' (*Vide p. 11*).

Gladstone, William Ewart—son of a Liverpool merchant, born in 1809—entered Parliament in 1832, in the Tory and High Church interest and soon distinguished himself as an orator—made Junior Lord of the Treasury by Peel, then Vice-President of the Board of Trade, finally Colonial Secretary—had a hand in framing the revised tariff of Peel in 1842—with the

fall of Peel's ministry, like other Peelites, remained out of office for six years—became Chancellor of Exchequer during the hybrid ministry of Aberdeen, and introduced two budgets in 1853-54 (*Vide pp. 56, 58*)—became Chancellor of Exchequer under Palmerston in 1859, and established his reputation as a financier by his famous budgets (*Vide pp. 84-86*)—lost his seat from Oxford at the General Election of 1865 for his avowed Liberalism, but was returned from Lancashire (*Vide p. 88*)—became Leader of the Commons, after the death of Palmerston, under Russell (*Vide p. 90*)—came to be the leader of the Liberal party after the fall of Russell Ministry, and vehemently criticised the Reform Bill introduced by Disraeli in 1867 leading to substantial changes (*Vide p. 93-94*)—compulsory church-rates were abolished at his instance in 1868 (*Vide p. 96*)—caused the fall of Disraeli ministry on the Irish Church question and became Prime Minister in 1868—during his first tenure of office he disestablished the Irish Church, passed the first Irish Land Act, provided for English elementary education, reformed the army, abolished religious tests in universities, legalised Trade Unions, adopted a policy of neutrality in foreign affairs (*Vide pp. 102-14*)—withdrew from leadership of his party for a time after resignation in 1874—came back to politics with the Bulgarian atrocity agitation in 1876 (*Vide p. 119*)—carried Midlothian in 1879-80 (*Vide p. 125*)—remained largely occupied with Irish affairs since he again became Prime Minister in 1880, but carried the Third Reform Bill and the Redistribution Bill between 1884-85 (*Vide pp. 127-44*)—became convert to the Irish Home Rule policy since 1885 (*Vide p. 146*)—returned to power for the third time in 1886 and brought in a Home Rule Bill which caused a split in the Liberal party (*Vide pp. 148-50*)—formed his fourth administration in 1892, and passed a Home Rule Bill through the Commons which the Lords rejected (*Vide pp. 167-69*)—retired from office and public life in 1895—died 1898—his character and comparison with Disraeli (*Vide pp. 182-83, 133-34*).

O'Connell, Daniel—Born of an Irish family in 1775—came forward as the determined opponent of the Irish Union—became the leader of the Catholic party and founded the Catholic Association in 1823—won the Clare Election in 1828, but remained excluded from the Parliament as the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed in—pleaded with ability before the bar of the House for permission to sit, but refused—returned unopposed on a new writ being issued and permitted to sit in Parliament—became known as the 'Liberator' in Ireland—opposed the Coercion Act in vain in 1833, but did much service to the Whigs in promoting Reform—held the balance between the Whigs and the Tories for a time in Parliament—opposed unsuccessfully the Irish Poor Law in 1838 (*Vide pp. 8-9*)—revived the Repeal agitation with vigour in 1843, and was arrested, punished, but finally released (*Vide p. 31*)—the agitation subsided for a time, though the Young Ireland party separated from him—died in 1847—his high character, his energetic championship of the Catholic cause, his powers as a popular orator obtained for him enormous influence in Catholic Ireland, though in England he was looked down upon as the 'big beggarman.'

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount—eldest son of the second Viscount, born 1784—entered Parliament in 1807—held the office of Secretary at War from 1809 to 1828—at first joined the more liberal section of the Tories led by Canning, but since about 1830 became Whig—as Foreign Secretary from 1830 to 1841 played honourable part in the negotiations leading to independence of Belgium, to the settlement of Spanish and Portuguese questions, to the European resistance to the designs of Mehemet Ali (*Vide pp. 16-18*)—returned as Foreign Secretary in 1846 (*Vide p. 43*)—his unsympathetic attitude towards the Revolutions of 1848, and the quarrel with Greece about 'Don Pacifico' affair caused his foreign policy to be called in question (*Vide pp. 46-47*)—dismissed from office in 1852 by the Queen, on the advice of Russell,

for expressing entirely on his own responsibility, the government's approval of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* (*Vide p. 51*)—brought about the fall of his late leader, Russell, on the Militia Bill (*Vide p. 53*)—having declined office in Derby's still-born ministry, became Home Secretary in Aberdeen's Co-alition Cabinet in 1852—carefully watched the Eastern Question, and urged his colleagues forward to war with Russia (*Vide p. 57*)—became Prime Minister on the fall of Aberdeen ministry in 1855—brought the Crimean War to a close by the Treaty of Paris in 1856—sustained defeat in the Commons on the motion condemning the measures taken in the 'Iorca Arrow' affair, but came back to power in the General Election (*Vide p. 67*)—carried his motion after the Indian Mutiny for the transference of the authority of the East India Company to the Crown, but defeated on the Conspiracy for Murder Bill in 1858 (*Vide pp. 69-70*)—became Prime Minister for the second time in 1859, and held office till his death in 1865—entered into commercial treaty with France in 1860, gave moral support to the movement for unification of Italy, remained on the side of the Northern States during American Civil War though displayed some want of wisdom in the *Trent* and *Alabama* affairs, threatened to interfere on behalf of Denmark in Schleswig-Holstein Question but checked by Queen (*Vide pp. 76-88*)—estimate of him: 'essentially a European rather than an English statesman,' (*Vide pp. 88-89*).

Parnell, Charles Stewart—Born 1840—entered Parliament 1875—founded Irish National Land League in 1879 (*Vide p. 125*)—entered upon a policy of Parliamentary obstruction, and began a serious agitation including 'boycotting' on the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in 1880 (*Vide p. 128*)—after an abortive prosecution, imprisoned under the Crimes Act in 1881 (*Vide p. 130*)—released from Kilmainham gaol in 1882 under terms (*Vide p. 130*)—owing to Phoenix Park Murder, when Gladstone's government

passed a Prevention of Crimes Bill it was not violently opposed by Parnell—now founded the National League in 1882 (*Vide p. 132*)—joined with the Liberals under Gladstone who adopted Home Rule policy in 1886—started the 'Plan of Campaign' agitation on the defeat of the Home Rule Bill in 1886 (*Vide p. 154*)—accusations against him for letters alleged to have been written by him supporting Phoenix Park murder and appointment of a Commission in 1888 (*Vide p. 157*)—letters proved to be forgeries and his recovery of heavy damages from the 'Times'—was mulct in costs as co-respondent in the O'Shea divorce case and the majority of his party elected Justin McCarthy as leader in his place (*Vide p. 158*)—died 1891—estimate of him (*Vide p. 159*).

Peel, Sir Robert—son of Sir Robert Peel, a wealthy Lancashire cotton manufacturer—born 1788—entered Parliament 1809, and became Under-Secretary for War next year—served as Chief Secretary for Ireland between 1812-18—acted as Chairman of Currency Committee in 1819 and brought about the return to cash payments—remained Home Secretary from 1822-27, but retired on account of his disagreement with Canning on the question of Catholic Emancipation—returned to office under Duke of Wellington, and being convinced of granting the demands of the Catholics, moved the Catholic Relief Bill in the Commons in 1829—succeeded to the baronetcy in 1830—resigned office in 1830, being opposed to the Reform Bill—recalled in 1834 during the brief conservative ministry of William IV—on the resignation of Melbourne in 1839 he was sent for by Queen Victoria, but declined to form a ministry on account of the Bed Chamber question (*Vide pp. 12-13*)—became Prime Minister in 1841 and held office till 1846 during which period he carried out some important financial changes—including the Bank Charter Act, repealed the Corn Laws to which he was at first opposed and removed the Protectionist restrictions on trade (*Vide pp. 23-39*)—resigned office as a large section of the Conservatives abandoned him and the Liberals gave him little sup-

port—during the remaining years of his life he gave a general support to the home and commercial policy of the Whig ministers, though he opposed their foreign policy—died on July 2, 1850—estimate of his statesmanship (*Vide pp. 51-53*).

Rhodes, Cecil J.—Acquired large fortune in South Africa by his able direction of diamond mines at Kimberley—became a member of the government of Cape Colony, and then its Premier in 1890—as Director of British South Africa Company, conducted the campaign against the Matabele and conquered their territory (*Vide p. 172*)—resigned office of Prime Minister as a result of Dr. Jameson's abortive raid into the Transvaal and severely censured by a Parliamentary committee—died 1902.

Russell, John, Earl—Third son of the sixth Duke of Bedford—born 1792—entered Parliament in 1813—took up the question of Parliamentary Reform since 1818 and brought in annual motions—carried a motion for the repeal of Test Act and Corporation Act in 1828—introduced the First Reform Bill in the Commons in 1831—served as Home Secretary under Melbourne since 1835, and then became Secretary for Colonies in 1839—became leader of the Opposition during Peel's Ministry, but declared himself in favour of the Corn Laws in 1845—became Prime Minister in 1846, passed the Irish Poor Law Bill and Irish Encumbered Estates Act, repealed the Navigation Act, bestowed constitutional liberty upon Australian Colonies (*Vide pp. 40-50*)—quarrelled with and dismissed Palmerston (*Vide p. 59*), who in the next year brought about his fall—served for a time as Foreign Secretary in Aberdeen's ministry, and fanned the flame of the Crimean War (*Vide p. 61*)—became Colonial Secretary in Palmerston's first ministry in 1855 and Foreign Secretary during the second in 1859—supported the movement for unification of Italy (*Vide p. 79*)—created Earl in 1861—became Prime Minister for the second time on Palmerston's death in 1865, but was defeated on his new Reform Bill next year and resigned (*Vide*

pp. 90-92)—held office never again, though continued to take active part in politics—was a voluminous writer and edited his own *Speeches and Despatches*—died 1878.

Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoigne Cecil—Born 1830—entered Parliament as Conservative in 1853—retained his seat till 1868 when he succeeded to the Marquisate—became Secretary of State for India in 1866 during Third Derby ministry, but resigned next year on the Reform Bill—appointed Foreign Secretary in 1878 during Second Disraeli Ministry, entered into secret agreement with Russia regarding modifications of the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, and attended with Beaconsfield the Congress at Berlin (*Vide pp. 121-22*)—became leader of the Conservatives in the House of Lords on Beaconsfield's death—took office of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary first in July, 1885, but could remain in office for seven months only (*Vide pp. 145-47*)—formed his second (Unionist) ministry again in 1886 and acted as Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary till 1892, became exponent of New Imperialism, celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the Queen in 1887, passed several useful domestic measures including the *Free Education Bill*, *Factory Act*, *Tithe Bill*, *Small Holdings Act* &c., adopted a policy of aloofness from European quarrels though joined in the 'scramble' for Africa (*Vide pp. 151-66*)—became Prime Minister for the third and last time in 1895, celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen in 1897, joined the Hague Conference in 1899, adopted a vigorous Colonial policy in respect of Sudan and South Africa, passed the *Australian Commonwealth Act* in 1901 before he resigned office next year—died 1903.

APPENDIX E.

Test Questions.

1. Elucidate the statement that 'for the first time the English theory of the limited monarchy is translated into fact' during the Victorian era. (C. U. B. A. Pass, 1912).

2. What do you understand by the *laissez-faire* system? How far was this principle accepted in the tional position of the Crown in Victoria's reign. (C. U. B. A. Pass, 1913).

3. Show the changes that took place in this constitution position of the Crown in Victoria's reign. (C. U. B. A. Pass, 1915).

4. Write brief historical notes on 'those doctrines of parliamentary sovereignty, ministerial responsibility, and limited monarchy, which belonged to the Whig tradition.' (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912).

5. Discuss the problem of Canada in 1837, and explain the solution propounded by Durham. (C. U. M. A. 1925).

6. 'The constitution of Canada was planned mainly upon the sagacious lines laid down by Lord Durham in his report of 1840.' Justify the statement. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1914).

7. 'Such was the famous Bed-chamber question, and it made a prodigious stir at the time.' Say, what you know of this question, and account for the interest which it aroused. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912).

8. Say what you know of the Chartist movement—its aims and its efforts. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1912); Write a short essay on the Chartist movement. (C. U. M. A. 1925). *Vide* pp. 19-21 & 48.

9. Give some account of the administrative and fiscal reforms of Peel, and justify the statement that he was

'essentially the minister of the business classes.' (C. U. B. A. 1912).

10. Describe the leading features of the economic policy of Peel. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912)

11. Describe the victory of Free Trade during Peel's administration. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1914; B. A. Hon. 1913).

12. Give the reasons leading to, and show the importance of the Repeal of the Corn Laws. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1915).

13. 'Never was there a change of so extensive a character proposed on so slender a basis and with so little just cause shown.' Discuss this and describe the nature of the opposition met by Peel in his Anti-Corn Law campaign. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1915).

14. Estimate the contributions of Cobden and Bright to the cause of Free-Trade in England. How far is the policy accepted in England at the present day? (C. U. B. A. Pass 1913).

15. "Two features—administrative efficiency and fiscal reform—mainly distinguished Sir Robert Peel's ministry of 1841-46, and made it a turning-point in British history." Elucidate the statement. (C. U. M. A. 1926).

16. Examine the consistency of Peel's political career, with special reference to his attitude towards the Corn-Law. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912). [*Vide* pp. 36 & 52-53].

17. Sketch the political career of Lord John Russell. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1913). [*Vide* App. D. & pp. 40-43, 90-92].

18. Discuss the situation in Ireland since the accession of the Queen, and say how far the Irish measures of the government from 1837 to 1848 were 'successful'?

19. What do you understand by the Eastern Question? What settlement of the question was arrived at by the Treaty of Paris? (C. U. B. A. Pass 1914).

20. "Step by step the Turks have drawn us into a

position in which we are more or less committed to the Turks." Discuss the relation between England and Turkey as to the Eastern Question during the second half of the 19th century, (C. U. B. A. 1915. [*Vide* pp. 58-65, 118-122, & 175-176].

21. Describe in detail the Anglo-French relations from the accession of Victoria to the close of the Crimean War. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1915). [*Vide* pp. 16, 18, 28, 44-45, 47, 51, 58-65].

22. Give an account of the situation of parties between 1846 and 1852. (C. U. M. A. 1925).

23. How far was the governance under the India Act, an improvement on the system it supplanted? Trace the history of the Act and its provisions. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1915). [*Vide* pp. 69, 71-73].

24. Give an account of the changes made in 1858 in the system of control of Indian affairs and explain their significance. (C. U. M. A. 1925).

25. "The year 1859 is in many respects a turning-point in our parliamentary history." Justify the statement. [*Vide* pp. 74-75].

26. "The close of the Palmerstonian era witnessed the golden days of Gladstonian finance." Examine the statement. [*Vide* pp. 84-86].

27. "The death of Prince Albert was a graver loss to the nation than it knew." Explain (C. U. B. A. Pass 1914).

28. "Palmerston himself was a living compromise." Illustrate this from the career of Palmerston. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1914).

29. "Lord Palmerston has been described as a Conservative at home and a Revolutionist abroad." Explain (C. U. M. A. 1926).

30. Elucidate the statement that 'the death of Palmerston may be said to have closed the transition period through which England passed in its progress from aristocracy to democracy.' (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912).

31. How far is it correct to say that "with the death of Palmerston was sounded the knell of the £10 householder?"

32. Summarise the history of the extension of Parliamentary Franchise in the Victorian era. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1913). [*Vide* pp. 91-95, & 140-141].

33. Write a short note on 'Leap in the Dark.' (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1914). [*Vide* p. 95].

34. Write short notes on 'Fenianism.' (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1913). [*Vide* pp. 98-101].

35. 'My mission is to pacify Ireland' (Gladstone): explain the nature of the important measures adopted by Gladstone to effect the pacification of Ireland. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912). [*Vide* pp. 102-105, 110, 127-129, 148-150 & 167-168].

36. What attempts were made by Gladstone during his first ministry to solve the Irish problem, and with what success? (C. U. M. A. 1925).

37. Tell the story of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1912).

38. Sketch shortly the administrative reforms and foreign policy of the first Gladstone ministry. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1914).

39. Write a short essay on Educational development in Britain from 1837 to the end of the century. Mention the chief legislative enactments in this connection. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1915). [*Vide* pp. 106-108, & 161].

40. "In spite of its failures and miscalculations, Gladstone's first administration was the most fruitful, and on the whole the most successful, Liberal ministry of the Queen's reign." Illustrate and justify the statement. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1912).

41. Show the various developments in the Eastern Question from 1875 to 1878 (C. U. B. A. Pass 1915). [*Vide* pp. 118-122]; comment on the settlement made by the Congress of Berlin. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1914). [*Vide* p. 122].

42. Write a short account of the Second Gladstone administration noticing specially the lines of British policy in Egypt and the Sudan. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1913).

43. Write a brief history of Egypt and Sudan in 1882-85. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1914).

44. Give an account of the Second Gladstone administration with special reference to Irish affairs and Egypt. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1915).

45. Sketch the character of Disraeli. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1913).

46. "Disraeli lived to be an idol and died to become a tradition." Justify the remark as illustrated by his career. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1913).

47. "For twenty-two years the interest of English politics centres round the dramatically contrasted figures of Gladstone and Disraeli." Indicate the main points of contrast between the character and statesmanship of the two above-named personages. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912). [Vide pp. 133-134].

47. "Gladstone, the political legatee of Peel, was at his best with some complicated problem of legislation or finance; Disraeli, who looked back to Chatham or Bolingbroke, was intent on maintaining the unique position of England among the nations." Expand. (C. U. M. A. 1926).

49. Estimate the achievements of the Second Gladstone ministry. (C. U. M. A. 1926).

50. Remark on the statement, "Gladstone's second administration presented a conspicuous and unfavourable contrast to the first."

51. Trace the history of British colonisation in South Africa from 1871 to 1884. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1912). [Vide pp. 112, 117-118, & 135-136].

52. Trace the development of the question of Home Rule for Ireland during Queen Victoria's reign. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1915). [Vide pp. 124-125, 127-132, 146-150, 154-159, & 167-168].

53. What is meant by 'Home Rule'? What led Gladstone to propose it? Why did it create a Liberal split? (C. U. B. A. Pass 1914); What were the causes of breaking up of parties in 1886? (C. U. M. A. 1925).

54. State shortly the course of the agitation for Home Rule in Ireland. To what extent did the personality of Parnell influence the movement? (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1913).

55. "Ulster will fight: Ulster will be right." Discuss the policy of Home Rule for Ireland in the light of this remark. (C. U. M. A. 1926). [*Vide* p. 171].

56. Trace the history of the Liberal party in England after 1886. How far has its policy been modified by the acceptance of labour-politics and socialistic sentiments? (C. U. B. A. Pass 1913). [*Vide* pp. 147, 151, 153, 166, & App. B].

57. Review the character and career of Lord Randolph Churchill, dwelling briefly and broadly on 'the part he played in the conservative revival during the Parliament of 1880.' (C. U. B. A. Pass 1912). [*Vide* App. D., & pp. 142-143, 152-153, 170-171].

58. Give a short sketch of the activities of the Fourth Party in the Parliament. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1913).

59. Review the career of Joseph Chamberlain, dwelling broadly on his exchange of the democratic radicalism of the earlier days for an ardent imperialism. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1913). [*Vide* App. D & p. 153].

60. Write a short history of the life of Charles Stewart Parnell. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1913). [*Vide* App. D, & pp. 124-125, 128-133, 150, & 154-159].

61. Trace the story of 'Parnellism and Crime.' (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1914). [*Vide* pp. 155 (*charges of the Times against Parnell*), & 157 (*the Parnell Commission*).]

62. Sketch briefly the history of British South Africa from 1852 to 1902. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1914).

63. Indicate carefully the causes which led to the First and Second Boer Wars. Outline also the terms of

settlement of these rears. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1915).
[*Vide* pp. 135-136, 180-181].

64. Give an account of the War in South Africa which ended in the Peace of Vereeniging. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1913).

65. Discuss English relations with Egypt and the Sudan during the period. (C. U. M. A. 1925).

66. Trace the career of Cecil Rhodes. Tell the story of the Jameson's Raid and give some account of the part which Rhodes played in this connection. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1912).

67. Make a critical estimate of the statesmanship of Gladstone.

68. Estimate the character and work of Cecil Rhodes. (C. U. M. A. 1926).

69. Dwell on the foreign policy of Salisbury, and compare it with that of Disraeli and of Palmerston.

70. Write a short essay on British colonial development in the nineteenth century. (C. U. B. A. Pass 1912).

71. "Between 1837 and 1867 the methods of the old colonial policy, which had been observed since 1660, were finally cast aside: the foundations of the modern British Commonwealth were laid; and the guiding principles which have moulded the modern history of the Commonwealth were clearly established." Illustrate. (C. U. M. A. 1926).

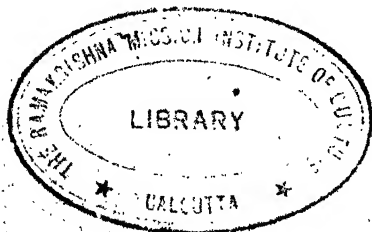
72. What is the significance of the Victorian era in the history of the development of colonial self-government? (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1915).

73. Write notes on:—Bed-chamber question (p. 12); Bank Charter Act (p. 25); Factory Acts of 1844-45 (p. 27); Opium War (p. 29); Swiss Sonderbund (p. 45); Don Pacifico debate (p. 47); Declaration of Paris (p. 65); Wensleydale Peerage debate (p. 67); Lorcha Arrow debate (p. 67); Orsini Conspiracy (pp. 70-71); Trent Affair (p. 80); Alabama Arbitration (pp. 80-82, 112); Schleswig-Holstein Question (p. 82); Newcastle Commission (p. 86);

Case of Eyre (p. 90) ; Federation of Canada (p. 96) ; Luxemburg Question (p. 97) ; Ribbon Society (p. 106) ; Westmeath Act (p. 106) ; Forster's Education Act (p. 106) ; Geneva Award (p. 112) ; Berlin Memorandum (p. 119) ; Bulgarian atrocities (p. 119) ; Royal Titles Bill (p. 123) ; Midlothian Campaign (p. 125) ; Compensation for Disturbance Bill (p. 127) ; Kilmainham Treaty (p. 130) ; Phoenix Park Murder (p. 131) ; Arabi (p. 137) ; Battle of Majuba Hill (p. 136) ; Battle of Tel-el-Kabir (p. 138) ; The Mahdi (pp. 139-40, 148) ; Case of Bradlaugh (p. 142) ; Tory Democrats (p. 152) ; Round-Table Conference (p. 153) ; Plan of Campaign (p. 154) ; Scramble for Africa (pp. 163-166) ; Matabele War (p. 172) ; Armenian Massacres (p. 175) ; Boxer rising (p. 177) ; Fashoda Incident (p. 178) ; Jameson Raid (p. 179) ; Australian Commonwealth Act (p. 184).

74. "The Victorian Age, if it lives in history as a distinct epoch, will do so because of its science rather than its politics." Discuss. (C. U. B. A. Hon. 1915).

75. Describe the influence of two-fold drift of opinion towards Imperialism on the one hand and Socialism on the other in moulding party-politics in the later Victorian period. C. U. B. A. Hon. 1914).





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